



*These are the Lines that shew thy Face, but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee :
Thy Faire-Discoveries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory Wynn:
So, thou art Brasſe without, but Golde within .*

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

EDITED BY
JARED SPARKS

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

By

GEORGE S. HILLARD

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THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH
BY
GEORGE S. HILLARD

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

CHAPTER I.

His Birth, early Adventures, and brilliant Achievements in the Turkish Wars.

AMONG the adventurous spirits, whom a restless love of enterprise called from the bosom of repose in England to new scenes and untried perils in our Western wilds, there is no one whose name awakens more romantic associations, than CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH. His life is as brilliant and exciting as a Fairy tale; and the remarkable adventures he went through served to develop fully his no less remarkable character. It was his good fortune to live in stirring and eventful times, congenial to his bold and roving disposition, and, luckily for posterity, his adventures have been preserved in a characteristic narrative written by himself, from which the principal facts in the following biographical sketch have been drawn.

He was born in Willoughby in the county of Lincolnshire, in the year 1579, and was de-

scended from an ancient family which belonged to the county of Lancashire. His wild spirit of enterprise and dislike to confinement displayed themselves in early boyhood; for, at the age of thirteen, being, as he himself says, "set upon brave adventures," he sold his satchel, books, and whatever other property he had, in order to raise money to furnish him with the means of going privately to sea; but this hopeful enterprise was frustrated by the death of his parents, who left him a competent estate. His guardians put him apprentice, at the age of fifteen, to Mr. Thomas Sendall of Lynn, "the greatest merchant of all those parts;" but the compting-house desk seems to have been as irksome to him as the school-boy's form. He quitted his master's employment, and, with but ten shillings in his pocket, furnished him by his friends (to use his own words) "to get rid of him," he entered into the train of the second son of the famous Lord Willoughby, who was travelling into France.

On arriving at Orleans, he was furnished with funds sufficient to carry him back to England; but such a step was very far from his intention. He went over into the Low Countries, the battle-ground of Europe, where he served for three or four years under the command of Captain Joseph Duxbury. Of the nature of his service he does not inform us, but

he probably belonged to a company of English auxiliaries, who were aiding Prince Maurice in his gallant and successful struggle against the power of Spain, which resulted in the independence of the Netherlands. He met with a Scotch gentleman abroad, whose name was David Hume, who supplied him with money, gave him letters to his friends in Scotland, and assured him of the favor and patronage of King James.

He set sail for Scotland accordingly, and, after having suffered shipwreck and a severe fit of sickness, arrived there, and delivered his letters. By those to whom they were addressed, he was treated with that warmth of hospitality, which seems to have been characteristic of the Scotch nation from the earliest times; but he found no encouragement to enter upon the career of a courtier. He returned to Willoughby in Lincolnshire; and, finding himself thrown among those in whose society he took no pleasure, and being perhaps a little soured by disappointment, he built himself a sylvan lodge of boughs in a wood, and studied military history and tactics. He amused himself at the same time with hunting and horsemanship. He was not, however, a genuine and independent man of the woods; for he kept up an intercourse with the civilized world by means of his servant,

who supplied his woodland retreat with all the comforts of artificial life. Rumor soon spread about the country the tale of a young and accomplished hermit, and brought to his "lonely bower" an Italian gentleman in the service of the Earl of Lincoln, of great skill in horsemanship, who insinuated himself into the favor of Smith, and induced him to return with him into the world.

His military ardor soon revived, and he set out a second time upon his travels, intending to fight against the Turks, whom all good Christians in those days looked upon as natural enemies. The first stage of his journey was the Low Countries, where he met with four French adventurers, who, seeing the youth and inexperience of Smith (being at that time but nineteen years old), formed a plan to rob him. One of them pretended to be a nobleman, and the others personated his attendants. They persuaded him to travel with them into France, and they accordingly embarked together on board of a vessel for that purpose. His treacherous friends found in the captain a kindred spirit in villany, and by his assistance their plans were put into execution. In a dark night they arrived at St. Valery in Picardy; and, by the contrivance of the captain, the four Frenchmen were put on shore with the baggage of

Smith, he himself remaining on board, in utter ignorance of the disposition which had been made of his property. The boat with the captain returned the next day towards evening, a delay which he alleged to be in consequence of the high sea, but which was in reality to enable the robbers to escape with their booty. His villainy was strongly suspected by the passengers, who, indignant at his baseness and strongly sympathizing with Smith in his misfortune, proposed to him to kill the captain and take possession of the vessel and cargo. This offer, so characteristic of the lawlessness of the times, was rejected by Smith, with a promptness worthy of his honorable and high-minded character.

On his being landed, Smith found himself in such straits as to be compelled to sell his cloak to pay for his passage. One of his fellow passengers generously compassionating his forlorn situation, supplied him with money and brought him to Mortain, the place of residence of the villains who had robbed him. He found it impossible to obtain any satisfaction, however, for the injuries he had received at their hands, the word of a friendless and unknown stranger probably not being deemed sufficient evidence of their guilt; and he could not be aided by his generous fellow passenger, who was an outlawed man and obliged to live in the strictest seclusion.

The rumor of his misfortunes awakened the active sympathy of several noble families in the neighborhood, by whom he was most hospitably entertained and his necessities liberally relieved.

A life of ease did not suit his restless temperament, and his high spirit could not endure his being the constant subject of favors, which he had no means of repaying. He set out upon his wanderings with a light purse, a stout heart, and a good sword. His slender means being soon exhausted, he was reduced to great sufferings, so much so, that one day, in passing through a forest, his strength, worn out by grief and exposure, entirely failed him, and he threw himself down by the edge of a fountain, with little hope of ever rising again. Here he was providentially found by a rich farmer, who acted the part of the good Samaritan towards him, and furnished him with the means of prosecuting his journey.

In rambling from port to port in search of a ship of war, he met, near a town in Brittany, one of the villains who had robbed him. They both drew without exchanging a single word, and the prowess of Smith gave him an easy victory over one, whose arm was paralyzed by the consciousness of a bad cause. He obliged him to make an ample confession of his guilt in the presence of numerous spectators. He obtained nothing, how-

ever, but the barren laurels of victory, and directed his course to the seat of the Earl of Plover, whom he had formerly known. By him he was treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality, and his purse liberally replenished. Taking leave of his friendly host, he travelled by a circuitous route to Marseilles, where he embarked for Italy.

New troubles awaited Smith in this passage. The author of the manuscript Latin memoir, alluded to in the Preface, remarks, that it is curious to observe how ingenious Fortune is in contriving peculiar disasters and perils to try the temper of heroes and great men, the ordinary mishaps of life not being sufficient for that purpose; a reflection naturally enough suggested by the adventures of his hero. On board the vessel was a great crowd of Catholic pilgrims of various nations, who were bound to Rome. They encountered a violent storm, which obliged them first to put into the harbor of Toulon, and afterwards to anchor under the small island of St. Mary, which lies off Nice, in Savoy. The enlightened devotees, who were sailing with him, took it into their heads, that the tempest was sent from heaven, as a manifestation of its displeasure at the presence of a heretic, who was, among so many of the true church, like "a dead fly in the compost of spices." They at first confined themselves to angry reproaches, directed not only against Smith himself, but against

Queen Elizabeth, an object of especial dread and aversion to all good Catholics. Their displeasure soon displayed itself by more unequivocal signs. The writer above alluded to says, that Smith disdained to stain his sword with the blood of so base a rabble, but that he belabored them soundly with a cudgel; but this probably belongs to that large class of facts, for which historians and biographers are indebted to their own imaginations.

Be that as it may, the result was, that Smith was thrown into the sea, like another Jonah, as a peace-offering to the angry elements. He was so near the island of St. Mary, that he could reach it without any difficulty by swimming. The next day, he was taken on board a French ship, commanded by Captain La Roche, a friend and neighbor of the Earl of Plover, who, for his sake, treated Smith with great kindness and consideration. They sailed to Alexandria in Egypt, and, delivering their freight, coasted the Levant. In the course of their voyage they met with a Venetian argosy, richly laden. The captain of the French ship desired to speak her, but his motions were misconstrued by the Venetian ship, which fired a broad-side into her, mistaking her probably for a pirate, or supposing, what was probably true in those troubled times, that he could expect none but the treatment of an enemy

from those of any other than his own nation. An engagement naturally enough ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the Venetian vessel, after a loss of twenty men, her adversary losing fifteen. Her rich cargo was plundered by the victors, and the most valuable and least bulky portions of it taken on board their own vessel. The valor of Smith had been most signally displayed in this engagement, and he received, as his share of the spoils, five hundred sequins, besides a "little box" (probably of jewels), worth nearly as much more. He was set on shore in Piedmont, at his own request. He made the tour of Italy, and gratified his curiosity by a sight of the interesting objects with which that country is filled. Mindful of his original purpose, he departed from Venice, and travelling through Albania, Dalmatia, and Sclavonia, came to Gratz in Styria, the residence of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, afterwards Emperor of Germany.

The war was at that time raging between Rodolph the Second, Emperor of Germany, and Mahomet the Third, the Grand Seignior. Smith's desire to display his prowess against the Turks was soon gratified. He met with two of his countrymen, who introduced him to Lord Eberspaught, Baron Kissell, and the Earl of Meldritch, all of them officers of distinction in the Imperial army.

This was in the latter part of the year 1601. The Turkish army, under the command of Ibrahim Bashaw, had besieged and taken, in the month of October, the strong fortress of Canisia, in Hungary, and were ravaging the neighboring country. They were laying siege to Olympach, with twenty thousand men, and had reduced the garrison, commanded by Eberspaught, to great extremities, having cut off all communication and supplies. Smith served as a volunteer in the army of the Baron Kissell, the general of artillery, who annoyed the besiegers from without. He was desirous of sending a communication to the commander of the garrison, but found no one bold enough to undertake so perilous an enterprise. Smith then communicated to him a plan of telegraphic intercourse, which he had before made known to Lord Eberspaught, anticipating that the chances of war would give rise to an emergency, in which a knowledge of it might be highly useful. By Kissell's order, Smith was conveyed at night to a mountain seven miles distant from the town, and communicated with the commander of the garrison, and conveyed to him the following message. "On Thursday at night, I will charge on the east; at the alarm sally you;" an answer was returned, "I will." The besieged were also aided further by Smith's inventive genius. On the eve of the attack, he had several thousand

matches, fastened to strings, extended in a line and fired, so that the report sounded like a discharge of musketry, and gave to the Turks the impression that there was a large body of men in that quarter, and they consequently marched out to attack them, and at the same moment they found themselves assaulted by Baron Kissell's army and by the garrison of the besieged fortress, who had made the concerted sally. They were in consequence thrown into great confusion and made but a feeble resistance. Many of them were slain, and others driven into the river and drowned. Two thousand men were thrown into the garrison, and the Turks were obliged to abandon the siege. This brilliant and successful exploit obtained for our adventurer the command of a troop of two hundred and fifty horse in the regiment of Count Meldritch.*

* Smith's telegraph was by means of torches, each letter from A to L being designated by showing one torch as many times as correspond to the letter's place in the alphabet; each letter from M to Z, in like manner, by showing two torches. It is essentially the same as that described in the tenth book of Polybius and in Rees's Cyclopædia, Art. *Telegraph*. Smith had probably met with it in Polybius, a writer whose military spirit would be congenial to his taste; and the use he thus made of his boyish acquisitions is a proof that a "little learning" may be a very good thing, even to a soldier.

In the year 1601, the campaign began with great spirit and vast preparations. The Emperor raised three armies, one commanded by Gonzago, Governor of Hungary, one by Ferdinand, Archduke of Styria, and the third by the Archduke Matthias, the Emperor's brother, whose lieutenant was Duke Mercury, who raised with him an army of thirty thousand men, and under whom Smith served. He laid siege to Alba Regalis, a strongly fortified town in Hungary. Smith's talents as an engineer were here called into exercise; for he contrived a sort of bomb or grenade, to be discharged from a sling, which greatly annoyed the Turks in their sallies, and two or three times set the suburbs of the place on fire. The city was finally taken by an ingeniously contrived and boldly executed military manœuvre; a loss so great to the Turks, that it is related that the Bashaw of Buda, who was a prisoner in Vienna, on hearing of it, abstained from eating a whole day, prostrate upon his face, praying to Mohammed, who, as he said, had been all that year angry with the Turks.

The Sultan had raised an army of sixty thousand men, under the command of Hassan Bashaw, for the purpose of relieving Alba Regalis. He, having heard of its capture, still continued his march, in the hope of taking it by surprise. Duke Mercury, though far inferior in numbers,

marched out to meet him, and encountered him in a desperate battle on the plains of Girke, which resulted in the defeat of the Turks, with the loss of six thousand men. In this action Smith behaved with great valor, was severely wounded, and had a horse shot under him.

Duke Mercury, after this, divided his forces into three parts, one of which, under the command of Count Meldritch, was sent into Transylvania, which was the seat of a triple war. Sigismund Bathor, the native prince, was contending for his crown with the Emperor of Germany, and, at the same time, waging war against the Turks, who were also the foes of the Emperor; so that each party had their attention distracted and their forces thinned by a common enemy. Meldritch had been ordered to join the army of the Emperor, which was acting against Sigismund. But Meldritch was himself a Transylvanian and little inclined to oppose himself to his countrymen, to whom he probably wished success in his heart. He and his officers were most of them soldiers of fortune, bound by slack allegiance to the Emperor, and ready, like Captain Dugald Dalgetty, to enlist under that leader, who could give them the highest pay and the best chance for gaining booty; and the Emperor, it seems, was not a very prompt paymaster. He therefore offered his services to Sigismund, by whom they were cordially

accepted; and from him he obtained permission to turn his arms against the Turks, an enterprise to which he was stimulated by personal feeling, for they had possession of that part of Transylvania in which his own family estates were situated.

In the course of the desultory and partisan warfare, which he carried on, he laid siege to Regal, a frontier town in the mountainous parts of Transylvania, so strong by nature and art as to be deemed impregnable, and garrisoned by a motley assemblage of Turks, Tartars, renegades, and robbers. Count Meldritch had with him eight thousand men, and he was afterwards joined by Prince Moyses with nine thousand more, to whom he surrendered the chief command.

The siege was long and obstinate, owing to the great strength of the place; and frequent and bloody, but undecisive skirmishes took place. The Turks grew insolent at the ill success of the Christians, and laughed to scorn their slow and ineffectual movements. One of their number, the Lord Turbashaw by name, a man of rank and military renown, sent a challenge to any captain of the Christian army, to fight with him in single combat, giving a reason characteristic of the times for this message, that it was to delight the ladies of Regal, "who did long to see some court-like pastime." So many were ready to accept this challenge, that their conflicting claims were settled

by lot, and the chance fell upon Smith, who had burned for the privilege of meeting the haughty Turk.

On the day appointed for the combat, the ramparts of the town were lined with ladies and soldiers. The Lord Turbashaw entered the lists in a splendid suit of armor, blazing with gold and jewels, and "on his shoulders were fixed a pair of great wings, compacted of eagle's feathers, within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones." He was attended by three Janizaries, one of whom bore his lance, and two walked by the side of his horse. Smith soon followed, attended by a single page bearing his lance, and rode by his antagonist, courteously saluting him as he passed. At the sound of the trumpet, they met in mid career, and the well-directed lance of Smith pierced through the visor into the brain of the Turk, and he fell dead from his horse, without having shed a drop of his adversary's blood. His head was cut off and borne in triumph to the Christian army, and his body given up to his friends.

The death of the Lord Turbashaw was heavily borne by the garrison; and a friend of his, by name Grualgo, burning to avenge him and to pluck the fresh laurels from Smith's brow, sent him a particular challenge, which was readily accepted, and the battle took place the next day

after receiving it. At their first encounter, their lances were ineffectually shivered, though the Turk was nearly unhorsed. They then discharged their pistols, by which Smith was slightly wounded and his antagonist severely in the left arm. Being thus rendered unable to manage his horse, he offered a faint resistance and was easily slain; and his horse and armor, by previous agreement, became the property of the victor.

The siege was slowly protracted in the meanwhile, and Smith found but few opportunities for signalizing his valor. His high spirit, flushed with success, could not brook the rust of repose, and he obtained leave of his general to send a message into the town, that he should be happy to furnish the ladies with further entertainment, and to give to any Turkish knight the opportunity of redeeming the heads of his slain friends, and carry off his own besides, if he could win it. The challenge was accepted by a stout champion, to whom the Fates had given the unharmonious name of Bonny Mulgro. Having the privilege of choosing his own weapons, he avoided the lance, having had proof of Smith's dexterity in the use of it, and selected pistols, battle-axes, and swords. In the encounter, they discharged their pistols without effect, and then fought with their battle-axes. Smith seems to

have been inferior to his adversary in the use of this weapon, for he received so heavy a blow, that the axe dropped from his hands and he nearly fell from his horse ; and the Turks, seeing his mishap from the walls, set up a loud shout, as if the victory were already won. But Smith quickly recovered himself, and by his skilful horsemanship not only escaped the heavy blows aimed at him by the ponderous battle-axe, but ran his foe through the body with his sword. The ladies of Regal were certainly well entertained by our adventurer, and they could not complain of disappointment when he was master of the feast.

For these brilliant exploits Smith was rewarded by suitable honors. He was conducted to his general's tent by a military procession, consisting of six thousand men, three led horses, and, before each, the head of one of the Turks he had slain, borne on a lance. The general received him with much honor, embraced him, and presented him with a horse superbly caparisoned, and a scimitar and belt worth three hundred ducats ; and his colonel, Count Meldritch, made him major of his regiment.

The siege was prosecuted with renewed vigor and the place was finally taken, and its brave garrison put to the sword, in retaliation of the same inhuman barbarity, which they had shown to the Christian garrison from whom they took it The

prince of Transylvania, hearing of the valor of Smith, gave him his picture set in gold and a pension of three hundred ducats per annum. He also bestowed upon him a patent of nobility and a coat of arms bearing three Turks' heads in a shield, with the motto "Vincere est vivere." * This patent was afterwards admitted and recorded in the Heralds' College in England by Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms.

CHAPTER II.

His Captivity, Escape, and Return to England.

THE summer heaven of Smith's fortunes was soon to be overcast; and fate had trials in store for him, far exceeding any he had before known. Sigismund, the prince of Transylvania, found that he could no longer maintain a war against the Emperor and the Turks at the same time, the resources of his flourishing principality being utterly exhausted by his long-continued and unequal struggle. He accordingly acknowledged the Emperor's authority, gave up his station as an independent prince, and passed the remainder

* The date of this patent is December 3d, 1603, which was not until after Smith's return from his captivity

of his days in the more obscure, but probably happier, rank of a private nobleman in Prague, in the enjoyment of a munificent pension, which he had received in exchange for the uneasy splendor of a crown.

By this arrangement the armies of Sigismund were thrown out of employment, and transferred their allegiance to the Emperor. His generals were somewhat embarrassed by the presence of so many well disciplined and veteran troops, who were well known to be devotedly attached to their old master and not very fond of their new one; and they were anxious to keep them constantly employed, well knowing that idleness is the mother of mutiny. An opportunity soon occurred; for there was seldom peace in those days on the frontiers of Christendom and "Heathenesse."

The inhabitants of Wallachia, at that time a Turkish province, unable to endure the tyranny of their Waywode, or prince, revolted and applied to the Emperor for assistance, who gladly afforded it; and the Earl of Meldritch, accompanied by numerous officers, and Smith among the rest, and by an army of thirty thousand men, who had served under Sigismund, went to support the claims of the new Waywode, Lord Rodoll. The former one, whose name was Jeremy, had raised an army of forty thousand Tartars, Moldavians,

and Turks, to maintain his pretensions. A bloody battle was fought between them, in which the Turkish army was totally defeated with the loss of twenty-five thousand men, and Wallachia became subject to the Emperor.

The deposed Waywode collected together some troops, and assumed a dangerous attitude in the neighboring province of Moldavia; and the Earl of Meldritch was sent to reduce him. He was successful in several skirmishes, in one of which he was materially assisted by Smith's ingenuity in the construction of fire-works, a gift which seems to have been peculiar to him. Pressing on too eagerly and incautiously, he was decoyed into an ambuscade, in a mountainous pass near the town of Rottenton, and attacked by an army of forty thousand men. The Christians made a gallant and desperate resistance, but could avail nothing against such immense odds; and they were all slain or cut to pieces, except about thirteen hundred, who, with the Earl of Meldritch, escaped by swimming a river.

In this unhappy battle were slain many gallant noblemen and gentlemen, the flower of Sigismund's army and his most devoted friends, and, among the rest, nine Englishmen, whose names Smith affectionately preserves, who, for the sake of sustaining the cross and humbling the crescent, had exposed themselves to peril and death

in an obscure war, and in a remote corner of Europe. Such is the soldier's unequal lot. Some are proudly slain on famous fields; "honor decks the turf that wraps their clay," and their names become in after-times watch-words and rallying cries; while others, with arms as strong, hearts as brave, hopes as warm, and souls as aspiring, fall in petty skirmishes, the very spot of which soon becomes uncertain, and tradition itself preserves not a record of their names.

Smith was severely wounded and left for dead upon the field. Some sparks of life were found in him, and the Turks, judging him to be a man of distinction by the richness of his armor, healed his wounds in order to secure a large ransom. As soon as he was recovered, he was taken to Axiopolis with many other prisoners, and there they were all sold, "like beasts in a market-place." Smith was sold to the Bashaw Bogall, who sent him to Constantinople as a present to his mistress, the young Charatza Tragabigzanda (a name not very manageable in a sonnet), telling her that he was a Bohemian nobleman, whom he had captured in war.

This young lady viewed with compassion the afflicted condition of her captive, who was at that time in the flower of his youth, and adorned with those manly graces, which make valor more attractive, and affliction more pitiable. Not hav-

ing her time so much occupied as modern young ladies, she would often contrive an excuse for asking a question of the interesting captive who dwelt so much in her thoughts, as she had a slight knowledge of Italian. To her surprise she learnt, that the story told by her lover was a sheer fabrication, that Smith was an English gentleman, who had never seen the Bashaw till he had been bought by him in the market-place of Axiopolis. The tender feeling, with which she had, perhaps unconsciously to herself, begun to regard Smith, was probably increased by the indignation, with which she heard of the deception that had been practised upon her. She drew from him the whole story of his adventures, to which she did, like Desdemona, "seriously incline," and, like Desdemona, "she loved him for the dangers he had passed," as well as for his graceful manners, fascinating conversation, and that noble and dignified bearing, which the weeds of a captive could not conceal. She mitigated the pains of his captivity by all the means in her power; and, apprehensive lest her mother (who probably suspected the dangerous progress he was making in her daughter's affections) should sell him in order to remove him from her sight, she resolved to send him, with a letter to her brother Timour, Bashaw of Nalbritz, in the country of Cambia, and province of Tartary, who resided near the borders of the sea of Azof.

In this letter she enjoined it upon her brother to treat Smith with the greatest kindness, and, to make "assurance doubly sure," she frankly told him of the state of her feelings towards him, which disclosure had, however, upon the haughty Tartar an effect very different from what she anticipated. Highly incensed that his sister should have disgraced herself by an attachment to a Christian slave, he vented his displeasure upon its unfortunate object. He ordered his head to be shaved, his body to be stripped and clothed with a rough tunic of hair-cloth, and a large ring of iron to be fastened around his neck. He found many companions in misfortune, and, being the last comer, he was, as he says, "slave of slaves to them all;" though, he continues, "there was no great choice, for the best was so bad, that a dog could hardly have lived to endure."

Smith does not inform us of the length of his captivity, nor have we any data for ascertaining it, but it could not have been many months; for the battle, in which he was taken, was fought in 1602, and we hear of his return from slavery, to Transylvania in December, 1603. He has left an account of the manners and customs, religion and government, of the "Crym-Tartars," as he calls them, which does credit to his powers of observation, and the retentiveness of his memory, but which would be neither new nor interesting to the

reader. Of their offensive and comfortless style of living he speaks with the energy of personal disgust, but makes honorable mention of their justice and integrity. For their military equipments, knowledge, and discipline he expresses the contempt natural to a thorough master of the art of war, but does justice to their bravery, their skill in horsemanship, and their powers of endurance. The brave spirit of Smith could not be conquered even by the galling chains of bondage, which were rendered heavier by his despair of being ever able to throw them off; for he says, that "all the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thralldom was only the love of Tragabigzanda, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage; for, although he had often debated the matter with some Christians, that had been there a long time slaves, they could not find how to make an escape by any reason or possibility; but God, beyond man's expectation or imagination, helpeth his servants, when they least think of help, as it happened to him." He was employed to thresh corn in a country-house belonging to Timour, which was a league distant from his residence. His cruel master, who felt a particular ill-will towards him, never passed him without displaying it by gross abuse, and even personal violence. His ill-treatment, on one occasion, was so outrageous, that Smith, maddened and

transported beyond the bounds of reason by a sense of insult, and reckless of consequences, knowing that, happen what might, his miserable condition could not be changed for the worse, rose against him and beat out his brains with his threshing-flail. The instinct of self-preservation is fertile in expedients. He clothed himself in the rich attire of the slain Timour, hid his body under the straw, filled a knapsack with corn, mounted his horse, and galloped off to the desert.

Save the exulting sense of freedom, his condition was but little improved, however, and he could hardly hope for any thing but a death more or less speedy, according as he was recaptured or not. He was in the midst of a wild, vast, and uncultivated desert, dreading to meet any human beings, who might recognise him as a runaway slave by the iron collar which he still wore about his neck, and again reduce him to bondage. He wandered about two or three days without any end or purpose, and in utter loneliness and despair; but Providence, who had brought him out of captivity, befriended him still further, and directed his random steps to the main road, which leads from Tartary into Russia.

After a fatiguing and perilous journey of sixteen days, he arrived at Ecopolis, upon the river

Don, a garrison of the Russians; where, he says, "the governor, after a due examination of those his hard events, took off his irons, and so kindly used him, he thought himself new risen from death, and the good lady Calamata largely supplied his wants." This last clause is characteristic of Smith. His gentlemanly courtesy prompts him to acknowledge the kind attentions of a lady, while his modesty forbids him to mention any of the reasons which induced her to take an interest in him, still less to exaggerate that interest into a warmer feeling.

Being furnished by the friendly governor with letters of recommendation, he travelled, under the protection of convoys, to Hermanstadt in Transylvania. His journey through these desolate regions was made delightful by the kind attentions which he constantly received. He says, "in all his life, he seldom met with more respect, mirth, content, and entertainment, and not any governor, where he came, but gave him somewhat as a present, beside his charges." Their own exposed situation on the frontiers made them constantly liable to be carried into slavery by the Tartars, and they could sympathize with one who had just escaped a fate of which they were continually apprehensive.

On his arrival in Transylvania, where he found many of his old friends and companions in arms,

and where his brilliant exploits had made him generally known and popular, he was received with enthusiasm as one risen from the grave, and overwhelmed with honors and attentions. He says, that "he was gluttoned with content and near drowned with joy," and that he never would have left these kind friends, but for his strong desire to "rejoice himself" in his own native country, after all his toils and perils. At Leipsic he met with his old Colonel, the Earl of Meldritch, and Prince Sigismund, who gave him a diploma, confirming the title of nobility he had previously conferred upon him, and fifteen ducats to repair his losses. From thence he travelled through Germany, France, and Spain, visiting the places most worthy of note in each.

Hearing that a civil war had broken out in Barbary, eager to gain new honors and encounter new perils, he sailed in a French ship of war to the African coast, and went to the city of Morocco; but, finding that the contending parties were equally treacherous and unworthy, he refused to throw his sword into either scale. He describes some of the objects most worthy of note in the cities of Morocco and Fez, and gives a slight sketch of the conquest and discoveries of the Portuguese in the southern portions of Africa. He departed from Morocco in the same vessel in which he had come, and which, on

the voyage, sustained a desperate fight against two Spanish men-of-war, and succeeded in beating them off. He returned to his own country about the year 1604.

CHAPTER III.

State of public Feeling in England in regard to Colonizing the Coast of America. — Smith becomes interested in the Subject. — Establishment of the Virginia and Plymouth Companies. — An Expedition sets Sail from England. — Dissensions on the Voyage. — Arrival in Virginia.

THE times, of which we are writing, were fruitful alike in great enterprises and in great men. The brilliant discoveries of the Portuguese in the East, and of Columbus and Sebastian Cabot in the West, had startled the civilized world like the sound of a trumpet, and given to the human mind that spring and impulse, which are always produced by remarkable events. The fiery and adventurous spirits of Europe found the bounds of the old world too narrow for them, and panted for the untried spheres of our new and broader continents.

The wealth and fertility of the newly discovered lands, of course, lost nothing in the narratives of the few, who had by chance visited them, and returned home to astonish their admiring and less fortunate friends with tales of what they had seen and heard. They had seen climes which were the favorites of the sun, and his burning glances filled the earth, the air, and the sea with strange beauty. There were birds of gorgeous plumage, dazzling the eye with their motions and colors, flowers of the richest hues and most delicate odors, and aromatic forests that made the air faint with perfume, and "old Ocean smile for many a league." But the most extravagant accounts were given of the mineral treasures of the new countries. Gold and silver were so plentiful, that the most common utensils were made of them; and every one had some story to tell of "the Eldorado, where" (in the words of Mike Lambourne in "Kenilworth") "urchins play at cherry-pit with diamonds, and country wenches thread rubies for necklaces instead of rowan-tree berries; where the pantiles are made of pure gold, and the paving-stones of virgin silver." The good and bad passions of men were alike stimulated. There were savages to be civilized and heathen to be converted; there were worlds to be conquered and laurels to be won; avarice was allured by dreams of untold wealth,

and enterprise by prospects of boundless adventure.

England was strongly infected by the general feeling, and the genius and accomplishments of Sir Walter Raleigh kindled in all ranks a strong passion for foreign adventures. Several attempts had been made in the reign of Elizabeth, under the auspices of that remarkable man, to plant a colony in North America, the earliest settlement having been made, in 1585, on the island of Roanoke, in Albemarle Sound, on the coast of North Carolina ; but no one had taken firm root. The history of these short-lived colonies, and an examination of the causes which led to their failure, would be out of place here. *

At the time of Smith's arrival in England there was not any English colony on the continent of North America ; but the public attention had been strongly awakened to the subject by the animated representations of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who, in 1602, had made a prosperous voyage to the coast of New England, and had, on his return, spoken in the warmest terms of its fertility and the salubrity of its climate, and strongly urged upon his coun-

*The reader will find a minute and accurate account of their fortunes in Stith's *History of Virginia*, and a succinct and well-written one in Grahame's *History of the United States*.

trymen the importance of colonizing it. He and Captain Smith seem to have been drawn to wards each other by that kind of instinct, which brings together kindred spirits, and Smith entered into his plans with characteristic ardor. It was indeed precisely the enterprise to be embraced by a man like Smith, who panted for action, who dreaded nothing so much as repose, who sighed for perils, adventures, "hair-breadth 'scapes," and "moving accidents by flood and field."

The statements of Gosnold having been amply confirmed by subsequent voyagers, and King James, who was well-inclined to any plan, which would give employment to his frivolous and restless mind, and increase his power and consequence, encouraging the plan of establishing a colony, an association was formed for that purpose. Letters patent, bearing date April 10th, 1606, were issued to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, granting to them the territories in America, lying on the seacoast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, together with all islands situated within a hundred miles of their shores. The associates were divided into two companies, one consisting of London adventurers, to whom the northern part was assigned, and under whose auspices New England was afterwards settled. It was provided,

that there should be at least one hundred miles distance between the two colonies. The terms of this charter were strongly expressive of the King's arbitrary character, and of that jealous regard for his prerogatives, which, in after times, proved so fatal to his race. The most important provision was, that the supreme government was vested in a council resident in England, to be nominated by the crown, and the local jurisdiction was confided to a colonial council, appointed and removable at the pleasure of the crown, who were to be governed by royal instructions and ordinances from time to time promulgated.

The royal favor was yet more abundantly vouchsafed to them. The King busied himself in the employment, highly agreeable to his meddling and insatiable vanity, of drawing up a code of laws for the colonies that were about to be planted; which, among other things, provided, that the legislative and executive powers should be vested in the colonial council, with these important qualifications, however, that their laws were not to touch life or limb, that they should conform to the laws of England, and should continue in force only till modified or repealed by the King or the supreme council in England.

It was not until the 19th day of the following December, that an expedition set sail from

England. This delay arose from a variety of causes, and especially a want of funds. On that day a hundred and five colonists embarked from London in a squadron of three small vessels, the largest of which did not exceed a hundred tons in burden. Among the leading adventurers were Captains Gosnold and Smith, George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, Edward M. Wingfield, a London merchant, and Mr. Robert Hunt, a clergyman. The transportation of the colony was intrusted to Captain Christopher Newport, who was esteemed a mariner of skill and ability on the American coast. Orders for government were given to them, sealed in a box, which was not to be opened till their arrival in Virginia.

They went by the old and circuitous route of the Canary Islands and the West Indies. Being detained by contrary winds for six weeks upon the coast of England, troubles and dissensions sprang up among them, as often occurs in those expeditions, in which unanimity and harmony of feeling are of the most vital importance. Peace was with difficulty restored by the mild and judicious counsels of Mr. Hunt, who, though afflicted with a severe illness and the object of special dislike to some of the leading men, (who, as we are told, were "little better than Atheists,") devoted himself with unshaken firmness to his duty, and preferred the service of God

and his country in a perilous and irksome enterprise, to the comforts and security of his own home, which was but twenty miles distant from the spot where the wind-bound fleet was lying.

On their arrival at the Canaries the flames of discord broke out with renewed fury, and Captain Smith became the victim of unjust suspicions and groundless enmity. His high reputation and frank, manly bearing had made him popular with the majority of the colonists, and his influence over them had excited the envy and dislike of some of the leaders; while his pride of character and conscious innocence prevented him probably from making any exertions to conciliate them. He was accused by Wingfield and others of entering into a conspiracy to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia. Upon these ridiculous charges he was kept a prisoner during the remainder of the voyage.

From the Canaries they steered to the West Indies, where they traded with the natives, and spent three weeks in recruiting. They then set sail for the Island of Roanoke, their original destination, but a violent storm providentially overtook them on the coast and carried them to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. They discovered land on the 26th of April, 1607, which they named

Cape Henry, in honor of the Prince of Wales. They sailed into the James River, and explored it for the space of forty miles from its mouth. The appearance of the country on each side filled them with delight. It was fertile and well watered, the landscape picturesquely varied with hills, valleys, and plains, and newly decked with the green mantle of spring. To the sea-worn voyagers, the scene was like enchantment, and this spot seemed to be pointed out by the finger of Heaven, as their resting-place and home.

They were employed seventeen days in pitching upon a convenient spot for their settlement. Upon the very first day of their arrival they went on shore, and were attacked by some Indians, who came "creeping upon all fours, from the hills, like bears," and who wounded some of the party with their arrows, but were forced to retire by a discharge of muskets. They found, in one of the shallow rivers, abundance of oysters, "which lay on the ground as thick as stones," and in many of them there were pearls. Going on shore, says the writer,* "we past through excellent ground, full of flowers of divers kinds and colors, and as goodly trees as I have seen, as cedar, cypress, and other kinds; going a little further we came to a little plat of ground, full of

* See note on page 40.

fine and beautiful strawberries, four times bigger and better than ours in England." The northern point at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay they named Point Comfort, because they found there deep water for anchorage, "which put them in good comfort." Landing on this point on the fourth day after their arrival, they saw five Indians, who were at first alarmed at the sight of the English, "until they saw the captain lay his hand upon his heart," upon which they came boldly up and invited them to Kecoughtan, their town. This invitation they accepted; and on arriving at the village they were kindly entertained by the Indians, who gave them corn-bread, tobacco, and pipes, and expressed their welcome by a dance. Four days afterwards, they were kindly entertained by the chief of the Pashiphay tribe, and received an invitation from the chief of the Rappahannas to come and visit him. He sent them a messenger to guide them to his habitation, and stood on the banks of the river to meet them as they landed, "with all his train," (says the writer,) "as goodly men as any I have seen of savages or Christians, the Werowance* coming before them, playing on a flute made of a reed, with a crown of deer's hair, colored red, in fashion of a rose, fasten-

* A name by which the chiefs of tribes in Virginia and its neighborhood were designated.

ed about his knot of hair, and a great plate of copper on the other side of his head, with two long feathers in fashion of a pair of horns placed in the midst of his crown. His body was painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck ; his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought ; his ears all behung with bracelets of pearl, and in either ear a bird's claw through it, beset with fine copper or gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a prince of civil government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behavior. He caused his mat to be spread on the ground, where he sat down with a great majesty, taking a pipe of tobacco, the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested a while, he rose and made signs to us to come to his town. He went foremost, and all the rest of his people and ourselves followed him up a steep hill, where his palace was settled. We passed through the woods in fine paths, having most pleasant springs which issued from the mountains. We also went through the goodliest corn-fields that ever were seen in any country. When we came to Rappahanna town, he entertained us in good humanity."

On the 8th day of May they went farther up the river. They went on shore in the country belonging to the tribe of Apamatica, where they

were met by a large body of Indians armed "with bows and arrows in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backs beset with sharp stones and pieces of iron, able to cleave a man in sunder." But, on making signs of peace, they were suffered to land without molestation. On the 13th day of May, they pitched upon the place of their settlement, which was a peninsula on the north side of James River, about forty miles from the mouth, to which they gave the name of Jamestown. The shore was so bold, that their ship could be in six fathoms of water, and be moored to the trees on the land.*

From this date the history of the United States of America begins, after a lapse of one hundred and ten years from the discovery of the continent by Sebastian Cabot, and twenty-two years after the first attempt to colonize it by Sir Walter Raleigh. Who can look back and compare the past with the present without reflections of the most serious and interesting cast? In this little

* This slight sketch of their proceedings, after their arrival in James River, and before they settled in Jamestown, is taken from a Narrative in Purchas (Vol. IV. p. 1685), written by George Percy, the brother of the Earl of Northumberland, one of the early settlers, and as distinguished for high character as for high birth. He succeeded Captain Smith as governor. His Narrative is comprised in six folio pages, and is very interesting.

handful of men, occupying a strip of land in the southeastern corner of Virginia, surrounded by pathless woods and savage men, we behold the "seminal principle" of a mighty people, destined to subdue the vast continent to the mild sway of civilization, letters, and Christianity, and to connect two oceans by a living and unbroken chain. Owing their political existence to the charter of a tyrant, which deprived them of some of the most valuable privileges of Englishmen, the colonists laid the foundations of a state, in which the sternest and fiercest spirit of liberty was to be developed, and which was destined to break out, in little more than a century and a half, in deadly opposition to that mother-country, to whose ample robe they had so long clung for support; not so much to obtain redress for actual oppressions, as in denial of the right to oppress, and in defence of those principles of truth, freedom, political equality, and natural justice, which descended to them with their Saxon blood and Saxon speech. The tree of liberty was first planted in the soil of America by despotic hands. The results which followed the settlement of this country were such, as the most sagacious wisdom could not have foreseen, nor the most visionary enthusiasm have hoped. History, no less than revelation, teaches us our dependence upon a higher Power, whose wise and good plans we can as little comprehend

as oppose, who is ever bringing real good out of seeming evil, and who, in the discipline with which he tries both men and nations, is ever making misfortune, discouragement, and struggle, the elements of unbounded growth, progress, and prosperity.

CHAPTER IV.

Early Struggles of the Colony. — Active Exertions of Captain Smith in Providing Food and Suppressing Insubordination.

BEFORE going any further it will be proper to give the reader a short account of the original inhabitants of the soil, as their history becomes almost immediately blended with that of the colony. At the time of the first settlement by the Europeans, it has been estimated that there were not more than twenty thousand Indians within the limits of the State of Virginia. Within a circuit of sixty miles from Jamestown, Captain Smith says, there were about five thousand souls, and of these scarce fifteen hundred were warriors. The whole territory between the mountains and the sea was occupied by more than forty tribes, thirty of whom were united in a confederacy under

Powhatan, whose dominions, hereditary and acquired by conquest, comprised the whole country between the rivers James and Potomac, and extended into the interior as far as the falls of the principal rivers.

Campbell, in his "History of Virginia," states the number of Powhatan's subjects to have been eight thousand. Powhatan was a remarkable man; a sort of savage Napoleon, who, by the force of his character and the superiority of his talents, had raised himself from the rank of a petty chieftain to something of imperial dignity and power. He had two places of abode, one called Powhatan, where Richmond now stands, and the other at Werowocomoco, on the north side of York River, within the present county of Gloucester. He lived in something of barbaric state and splendor. He had a guard of forty warriors in constant attendance, and four sentinels kept watch during the night around his dwelling. His power was absolute over his people, by whom he was looked up to with something of religious veneration. His feelings towards the whites were those of implacable enmity, and his energy and abilities made him a formidable foe to the infant colony.

Besides the large confederacy of which Powhatan was the chief, there were two others, with which that was often at war. One of these,

called the Mannahoacs, consisted of eight tribes, and occupied the country between the Rappahannoc and York rivers; the other, consisting of five tribes, was called the Monacans, and was settled between York and James rivers, above the Falls. There were also, in addition to these, many scattering and independent tribes.

Captain Smith describes at considerable length their manners and customs, dress, appearance, government, and religion. They did not differ materially, in any of these respects, from the northern tribes. They had the straight black hair, the tall, erect, and graceful forms, and the copper complexion. Their characters displayed the same virtues and vices, which those, who are in any degree familiar with the early history of our country, recognise as peculiar to the Indian race. They were equally removed from the romantic *beau-idéal*, which modern writers of fiction have painted, and the monstrous caricature, drawn by those, who, from interested motives, have represented them, as "all compact" of cruelty, treachery, indolence, and cowardice.

As soon as the colony had landed, the box containing their orders was opened; and it was found that Edward M. Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall were appointed a council. They were to choose a

President from among their own number, who was to hold his office a year, with the privilege of having two votes. The council made choice of Mr. Wingfield as President.

It is curious that almost the first act of the council should have been one of disobedience to their superior power; for, though Captain Smith had been expressly named one of the council, they excluded him, and gave their reasons for so doing in a speech made probably by the President, to the whole colony. However dissatisfied they might have been, the time was too precious to be spent in brawls and wrangling. All hands set themselves diligently to work. The council planned a fort, others cut down trees to clear a place to pitch their tents, while others were employed in making nets and preparing spots for gardens. The "overweening jealousy" of the President would not permit any military exercises or any fortifications to be erected, except a barrier of the boughs of trees in the shape of a half-moon. Soon after, an expedition was sent to discover the head of James River, consisting of twenty men, under the command of Newport and Smith, whose noble nature did not suffer him for a moment to abate any thing of his zeal for the good of the colony, under the influence of personal pique or disappointment. They passed by several habitations, and on the sixth day ar-

rived at the Falls, and erecting a cross, took possession of the country in the name of King James. Here they visited Powhatan, whose town consisted of but twelve houses, pleasantly situated on a hill. He received them with seeming kindness, and gratefully accepted a hatchet which Captain Newport presented to him. Their further progress up the river was obstructed by the Rapids or Falls. They were kindly and hospitably treated by the natives, whom they encountered in their excursion.

On their return they found, that the colony had in their absence suffered from the carelessness of the President in leaving them without military defences; for the Indians had attacked them, wounded seventeen men, and killed one boy. The writer of the narrative contained in Smith's History says, that had not a cross-bar shot from the ship, struck off a bough from a tree in the midst of the Indians and caused them to retire in affright, the colonists would have been entirely cut off, they being securely at work and unarmed. The President, made wiser by experience, ordered the fort to be palisadoed, the ordnance to be mounted, and the men to be armed and exercised. They were frequently attacked by the savages, whose numbers and activity generally gave them the advantage, notwithstanding the superiority of the whites in arms

At the end of six weeks, Captain Newport, who had been engaged merely to transport the colony, made preparations for returning to England. The enemies of Captain Smith pretended, out of compassion to him, a desire to refer him to the council in England to be reprimanded by them, rather than expose him to the publicity of a legal trial, which might injure his reputation and endanger his life. But he was not a man to be bullied or cajoled. He was strong, not only in the consciousness of innocence, but in the affections and respect of a large majority of the colonists. He loudly demanded a trial, the result of which was highly honorable to him. The arts of his enemies were revealed, and those who had been suborned to accuse him betrayed their employers. He was acquitted by acclamation, and the President condemned to pay a fine of two hundred pounds, which Smith generously added to the public property of the colony. Many other difficulties had arisen, which were amicably adjusted, by the "good doctrine and exhortation" of Mr. Hunt, who seems to have richly deserved the blessing promised to the peace-makers, and, by his influence, Captain Smith was admitted a member of council. On the next Sunday, they all partook of the communion, as a bond of Christian harmony, and a pledge that their recent recon-

ciliation was sincere. On the following day, the Indians in the neighborhood voluntarily sued for peace. Captain Newport sailed for England, on the 15th of June, leaving one hundred and four persons behind, and promising to return again in twenty weeks with fresh supplies.

The colony, owing to gross mismanagement and improvidence in the council in England, were very inadequately furnished with provisions. While the ships remained, they did not suffer from want, as they could always, either for "love or money," obtain a portion of the sailors' stores, of which they had great abundance. But this resource was cut off by the departure of the squadron, and they were reduced to a daily allowance of a half-pint of barley and the same quantity of wheat, both of the worst quality, and, from their long remaining in the ship's hold, alive with insects. Their historian says, with melancholy mirth, that "had they been as free from all sins as gluttony and drunkenness, they might have been canonized for saints;" for this wretched fare, with some sturgeon and shell-fish from the river, was all they had to subsist upon till the month of September. Disease and death made frightful havoc among them; for, besides their scanty and unhealthy food, their constitutions were weakened by extreme toil in

the heat of the summer, by imperfect shelter, and by the sudden change from the habits and comforts of civilized life to constant labor and exposure. Before September, fifty of their number had died, including Captain Gosnold, the first projector of the expedition.

The President, Wingfield, by embezzling the public stores and converting them to his own use, had escaped the general famine and sickness,* but had thereby much increased the dislike, which had always been felt towards him. In the beginning of the autumn he laid a plan to escape to England in the colony's bark, which treacherous conduct (to borrow the language of the historian) "so moved our dead spirits, that we deposed him." Captain John Ratcliffe was elected in his place. Kendall, who was concerned with him in the plot, was expelled from the council, so that it was now reduced to three members, the President, Martin, and Smith. After the discovery of this conspiracy, the sufferings of the colonists reached their utmost extent. Their provisions were consumed, no prospect of relief appeared, and they were in hourly expectation of an attack from

* This charge seems hardly credible ; but it is positively asserted by Smith, whose honesty and integrity are beyond suspicion, and not contradicted by any writer to my knowledge.

the Indians, to whom they could have offered no effectual resistance, in their present enfeebled condition. But they, so far from doing them any violence, supplied them liberally with provisions; a treatment so welcome and unexpected, that the grateful piety of Smith ascribes it to a special interposition of divine Providence.*

Smith's eminent abilities and high character, it was evident from the beginning, would sooner or later give him the first place in the colony, whatever might be his nominal rank. In times of peril and adversity, men, by a kind of unerring instinct, discover who is the ruling spirit, and put the helm into his hands as the only pilot that can weather the storm. Such times had

* The writer in Smith's History acquits the council in England of all blame in respect to their scanty provisions, and sums up the causes, which led to their difficulties, in the following terms.

“And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the council to send forth men so badly provided, this incontradictable reason will show them plainly they are too ill advised to nourish such ill conceits; first the fault of our going was our own; what could be thought fitting or necessary we had, but what we should find or want, or where we should be, we were all ignorant; and, supposing to make our passage in two months with victual to live and the advantage of the spring to work, we were at sea five months, which we both

now come upon the infant settlement, and they turned their eyes upon Smith, as the only man who could rescue them from the difficulties in which they were involved. The new President and Martin were neither able nor popular, and the official rank of the former was but dust in the balance, when weighed against Smith's native superiority. From this time the chief management of affairs devolved upon him.

He entered upon his duties with characteristic ardor and energy. He set about the building of Jamestown, and by kind words and encouraging promises, and, more than all, by his own example, taking upon himself the most laborious and fatiguing duties, he pushed on the work with so

spent our victual in passing and lost the opportunity of the time and season to plant, by the unskilful presumption of our ignorant transporters, that understood not at all what they undertook. Such actions have ever since the world's beginning been subject to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties, but nothing so difficult as to establish a commonwealth so far remote from men and means, and where men's minds are so untoward as neither to do well themselves nor suffer others." Stith, on the other hand, an accurate and painstaking writer, accuses the council and especially Sir Thomas Smith, their treasurer, of want of care and thoughtfulness, and says that the same mismanagement and carelessness marked the whole of that gentleman's administration of the affairs of the colony.

much diligence, that he had in a short time provided most of them with lodgings, neglecting any for himself. Their stock of provisions being well nigh exhausted, he resolved to make search for a fresh supply. His ignorance of the language of the natives, and his want of men and equipments, were great impediments to the expedition, but no discouragement to his adventurous spirit. Attended by only five or six men, he went down the river in a boat, to Kecoughtan, where Hampton now stands. The natives, who were aware of their condition, treated them with contempt as poor, starved creatures, and, when invited to traffic, would scoffingly give them a handful of corn or a piece of bread in exchange for their swords, muskets, and clothing.

Finding that kind looks and courteous treatment produced only insult and contumely, Smith felt himself constrained by necessity to adopt a different course, though he frankly acknowledges that he thereby exceeded the terms of his commission. He discharged his muskets among them and ran his boat ashore, the affrighted Indians betaking themselves to the shelter of the woods. Marching to their houses he found them abounding with corn; but he would not permit his men to touch it, expecting that the Indians would return in large numbers to attack him, in which expectation he was not disappointed. Sixty or seventy of them

soon appeared, some painted black, some red, some white, and some party-colored, in a square column, singing and dancing, with their *Okee* borne before them. This was an idol made of skins, stuffed with moss, painted, and ornamented with copper chains. They were armed with clubs, shields, bows, and arrows, and boldly advanced upon the English, who received them with a volley of musketry, which brought many of them to the ground, and with them their idol. The rest fled in dismay to the woods. They sent a priest with a proposition to make peace and restore their idol. Smith told them, that, if six of them would come unarmed and load his boat with corn, he would not only return them their idol, but give them beads, copper, and hatchets besides, and be their friend. These terms were accepted and the stipulations performed. They brought ample supplies, not only of corn, but of turkeys, venison, and wild fowl, and continued, until the English departed, singing and dancing in token of friendship.

The success of this expedition induced Captain Smith to repeat his excursions, both by land and water, in the course of one of which he discovered the people of Chickahominy, who lived upon the banks of the river of that name. The provisions, however, which he so carefully and toilsomely provided, the colonists improvidently wasted. When

ever Smith was out of sight, owing to the President's imbecility and Martin's ill health, every thing was in tumultuous confusion, like a school in the absence of its teacher. Wingfield and Kendall, who were smarting under their recent disgrace, took advantage of one of these seasons of insubordination to conspire with some disorderly malecontents, to escape to England in the bark, which by Smith's direction had been fitted up for a trading voyage to be undertaken the next year. Smith's unexpected return nipped their project in the bud, which was not done, however, without recourse to arms, and in the action Captain Kendall was slain. Soon afterwards the President and Captain Archer intended to abandon the country, which purpose was also frustrated by Smith, a circumstance which puts in the strongest light his power and influence. We are told, "that the Spaniard never more greedily desired gold than he victual, nor his soldiers more to abandon the country than he to keep it." Having found plenty of corn in the neighborhood of Chickahominy River, he made an excursion there, where he found hundreds of Indians awaiting his approach with loaded baskets in their hands. At the approach of winter too, the rivers were covered with swans, geese, and ducks, which, with corn, beans, and pumpkins supplied by the Indians, furnished their tables amply and

luxuriously. This abundance of good cheer had its natural effect in producing good-humor and curing home-sickness, "none of our Tuftaffety humorists" (to borrow a curious expression of the historian) desiring to return to England. A craving stomach has in all ages been the fruitful source of discontent and mutiny; and Captain Smith showed his knowledge of human nature, in taking so much pains to address it with the only arguments whose force it is capable of acknowledging.

CHAPTER V.

Captain Smith's Captivity among the Indians. — His Life is saved by Pocahontas. — His Return to Jamestown.

CAPTAIN SMITH's gleams of prosperity and repose were, like the "uncertain glories of an April day," broken by constant interruptions of clouds and misfortune. He was murmured against by some cross-grained spirits, and even rebuked by the council, for his dilatoriness in not penetrating to the source of Chickahominy River, a charge, one would think, the most unreasonable that could be brought against such a man. Stung by these

removed complaints, he immediately set out upon a new expedition. He proceeded as far as his barge could float, reaching that point with great labor, and having been obliged to cut a way through the trees which had fallen into the river. Having left the barge securely moored, with strict orders to his men not to leave it till his return, and taking with him two Englishmen and two Indians as guides, he went higher up in a canoe. This he left in charge of the Englishmen and went up twenty miles further to the meadows at the head of the river, where he occupied himself in shooting game. The disorderly and ill-disciplined crew, whom he had left in charge of the barge, had disobeyed his injunctions and gone straggling into the woods. They were suddenly attacked by a party of three hundred bowmen commanded by Opechancanough, King of Pamunkey and brother to Powhatan, and one of their number, George Cassen by name, was taken prisoner. The rest, with great difficulty, regained their barge. The Indians extorted from their prisoner information of the place where Captain Smith was, and then put him to death in the most barbarous manner. In their pursuit of Captain Smith, they came upon the two men, by name Robinson and Emry, who had been left with the canoe and who were sleeping by a fire, and discharged their arrows at them with fatal effect.

Having discovered Smith, they wounded him in the thigh with an arrow. Finding himself beset with numbers, he bound one of his Indian guides to his left arm with his garters as a buckler, and defended himself so skilfully with his gun, that he killed three and wounded many others. His enemies retreating out of gun-shot, he attempted to reach his canoe, but paying more heed to his foes than to his own footsteps, he sunk, with his guide, up to the middle in a treacherous morass. Helpless as he was, his bravery had inspired such terror, that they dared not approach him, until, being almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms and surrendered himself. They drew him out, and led him to the fire, by which his slain companions had been sleeping, and diligently chafed his benumbed limbs.

Though in expectation of an immediate and cruel death, his presence of mind did not forsake him, and his inexhaustible resources were not found wanting in that trying hour, when he was an unarmed captive in the hands of merciless savages. Without asking for his life, which would only have lowered the respect with which his bravery had inspired them, he demanded to speak with their chief. When he was presented to him, he showed to him a pocket compass which he happened to have with him. The tremulous vibrations of the needle, which they could see,

but not touch, on account of the glass, amused and surprised the Indians; and when Captain Smith, partly by language, he having acquired some knowledge of their tongue, and partly by signs, proceeded to explain to them the nature and properties of this wonderful instrument, and the discoveries to which it had led, and also described to them the courses of the heavenly bodies, the spherical shape of the earth, the alternations of day and night, the extent of the continents, oceans, and seas, the variety of nations and their relative position, which made some of them antipodes to others, they were filled with wonder and amazement.*

Notwithstanding this, within an hour they tied him to a tree and prepared to shoot him with their arrows. But when the chief held up the compass, they threw down their arms, and led him in a sort of triumphal procession, to Orapax,

* The above is the account contained in Smith's History, and, of course, came originally from Smith himself. It is impossible to believe, that the ignorant Indians could have comprehended such abstruse matters. They probably regarded the compass as the Englishman's god, a "great medicine," like the wig of the officer, which came off when grasped by his swarthy foe, and cheated him of a scalp to his inexpressible amazement. A wig and a mariner's compass would be equally mysterious, and entitled to equal reverence, in the eyes of these untutored children of nature. "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico.*"

a village situated a few miles northeast of where Richmond now stands. They marched in single file, their chief being in the midst, with the English swords and muskets borne before him. After him came Captain Smith, held by three stout men, and on each side six archers. When they arrived at the village, the women and children flocked round to behold their pale-faced captive. The warriors who conducted him, after some military manœuvres, placing Smith and their chief in the midst, performed a war-dance around them with frightful yells and strange contortions of their limbs and features. After this dance had been thrice performed, they conducted him to a "long house," where he was guarded by forty men. He was served so liberally with provisions, that he supposed their intention was to fatten and eat him, a reflection which did not at all tend to sharpen his appetite.

At this time one of those little incidents occurred which show that even barbarous manners, fierce hostility, and familiarity with scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, cannot turn the heart wholly into stone, or quench the natural instinct of compassion. An Indian to whom Smith, upon his first arrival in Virginia, had given some beads and trinkets, brought him a garment of furs, which was a most acceptable present, as he was well nigh perishing with the cold, which in

that year (1607) was very great both in Europe and America. The name of this grateful and benevolent savage was Maocassater. I take pleasure in recording it, as well as the anecdote, which has made it so deserving of being preserved, and is so delightful an exception to the acts of cruelty, treachery, and oppression, that generally mark the conduct of both whites and Indians towards each other.

Two days after this, he was attacked, and, but for his guard, would have been killed by an old Indian, whose son was lying at the point of death. Whether this was a natural sickness, which the father supposed was occasioned by the sorceries of Smith, and was therefore provoked to seek revenge, or whether he had been wounded by Smith before his capture, we do not learn ; probably the latter. They brought him to the dying man's side, in hopes that he might recover him. Smith told them that he had a medicine at Jamestown which would restore him. But they would not permit him to go after it.

The Indians were making great preparations to attack Jamestown, and desired to secure Smith's aid and coöperation. They promised him in return for his services, not only life and liberty, but as much land and as many women as he could wish. He endeavored to dissuade them from their attempt, and pointed out the

formidable dangers to which they would be exposed from the springing of mines, the cannons, and warlike engines; to which they listened with alarmed attention. In order that his statements might be confirmed, he proposed to send messengers to the colony, to which they assented. He wrote a note, in which he informed his countrymen of the plans in agitation against them, desired them to send him certain enumerated articles, and to give the messengers a wholesome fright, at the same time informing these last of all that would happen to them. These men started off in a season of extreme cold and arrived at Jamestown. Seeing men come out to meet them, as Smith had told them would be the case, they fled with dismay, leaving their note behind them. Coming again in the evening, they found the articles mentioned in the note, in the very spot where Smith told them to look for them. They returned in three days and related their adventures to the great amazement of all, who supposed, that "he could either divine, or the paper speak."

This incident, which confirmed their suspicion of Smith's supernatural powers, induced them to lay aside all thoughts of attacking Jamestown. They then carried him about in triumph through the country, showing him to the various tribes which dwelt on the Rappahannoc, and Potomac

ivers, and finally brought him to Pamunkey, the residence of Opechancanough, which was situated near the fork of York River. Here they performed a strange ceremony, the object of which was, as they told him, to ascertain whether his intentions towards them were friendly or not. The following was the order of performances. Early in the morning, a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on each side, on one of which he was seated, and then his guard retired. "Presently came skipping in a great, grim fellow, all painted over with coal, mingled with oil, and many snakes' and weasels' skins stuffed with moss, and all their tails tied together, so as they met on the crown of his head in a tassel; and round about the tassel was a coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, back, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voice and a rattle in his hand." This personage, who was a priest, commenced his invocation by a variety of wild gestures and grimaces, and concluded by surrounding the fire with a circle of meal. This being done, "three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antique tricks," whose bodies were painted half black and half red, and their faces daubed with red and white streaks to resemble mustachios. These three danced about

for some time, "and then came in three more as ugly as the rest," with their eyes painted red and with white streaks upon their black faces. Finally, they all seated themselves opposite to the prisoner, three on the right hand of the priest and three on his left. They then began a song, accompanying it with their rattles; and when this was done, the chief priest laid down five grains of corn, and after a short oration, attended with violent muscular exertion, laid down three more. After that they began their song again, and then another oration, laying down as many grains of corn as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. Then, continuing the incantation, they laid sticks between the divisions of the corn. The whole day was spent in these ceremonies, during which time neither Smith nor the performers tasted food, but at night they feasted abundantly on the best provisions they had. These rites were continued for three successive days. They told him that the circle of meal signified their own country, the circles of corn the bounds of the sea, and the sticks his country. They imagined the world to be flat and round like a trencher, and themselves to be placed in the middle of it.

They afterwards showed him a bag of gunpowder, which they had taken from him or

his companions, and which they carefully preserved till the next spring to plant, as they did their corn, supposing it to be a grain. He was afterwards invited by Opitchapan, the second brother of Powhatan, to his house, and sumptuously entertained; but here, as on all other occasions, none of the Indians would eat with him, though they would partake of the portions which he left unconsumed.

At last they brought him to Werowocomoco, the residence of Powhatan, which was situated on the north side of York River, in Gloucester County, about twenty-five miles below the fork of the river. It was at that time Powhatan's principal place of residence, though afterwards, not being pleased with its proximity to the English, he removed to Orapax. Upon Smith's arrival in the village, he was detained, until the Indian emperor and his court could make suitable preparations to receive their captive in proper state. In the mean while more than two hundred of his "grim courtiers" came to gaze at him, as if he had been a monster. Powhatan, who was at that time about sixty years old, is described as having been, in outward appearance, "every inch a king." His figure was noble, his stature majestic, and his countenance full of the severity and haughtiness of a ruler, whose will was supreme and whose nod was

law. He received Captain Smith with imposing, though rude ceremony. He was seated on a kind of throne, elevated above the floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire. He was clothed with a robe of racoon skins. Two young women, his daughters, sat one on his right and the other on his left; and on each side of the hut there were two rows of men in front, and the same number of women behind. These all had their heads and shoulders painted red. Many had their hair ornamented with the white down of birds. Some had chains of white beads around their necks, and all had more or less of ornament. When Smith was brought home, they all set up a great shout.

Soon after his entrance, a female of rank was directed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought a bunch of feathers instead of a towel to dry them with. They then feasted him in the best manner they could, and held a long and solemn consultation to determine his fate. The decision was against him. Two large stones were brought in and placed before Powhatan, and Smith was dragged up to them and his head was placed upon them, that his brains might be beaten out with clubs. The fatal weapons were already raised, and the stern executioners looked for the signal, which should bid them descend upon the victim's defenceless

head. But the protecting shield of divine Providence was over him, and the arm of violence was arrested. Pocahontas, the King's favorite daughter,—at that time a child of twelve or thirteen years of age,—finding that her piteous entreaties to save the life of Smith were unavailing, rushed forward, clasped his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it, determined either to save his life, or share his fate. Her generous and heroic conduct touched her father's iron heart, and the life of the captive was spared, to be employed in making hatchets for himself, and bells and beads for his daughter.

The account of this beautiful and most touching scene, familiar as it is to every one, can hardly be read with unmoistened eyes. The incident is so dramatic and startling, that it seems to preserve the freshness of novelty amidst a thousand repetitions. We could almost as reasonably expect an angel to have come down from heaven, and rescued the captive, as that his deliverer should have sprung from the bosom of Powhatan's family. The universal sympathies of mankind and the best feelings of the human heart have redeemed this scene from the obscurity which, in the progress of time, gathers over all, but the most important events. It has pointed a thousand morals and adorned a thousand tales. Innumerable bosoms have throb-

bed and are yet to throb with generous admiration for this daughter of a people, whom we have been too ready to underrate. Had we known nothing of her, but what is related of her in this incident, she would deserve the eternal gratitude of the inhabitants of this country; for the fate of the colony may be said to have hung upon the arms of Smith's executioners. He was its life and soul, and, without the magic influence of his personal qualities, it would have abandoned, in despair, the project of permanently settling the country, and sailed to England by the first opportunity.

The generosity of Powhatan was not content with merely sparing his prisoner's life. He detained him but two days longer. At the end of that time, he conducted him to a large house in the woods, and there left him alone upon a mat by the fire. In a short time, from behind another mat that divided the house, "was made the most dolefullest noise he ever heard; then Powhatan, more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more, as black as himself," came in and told him, that they were now friends, and that he should return to Jamestown; and that, if he would send him two pieces of cannon and a grindstone, he would give him the country of Capahowsic, and esteem him as his

own son. He was faithful to his word, and despatched him immediately, with twelve guides. That night they quartered in the woods; and during the whole journey Captain Smith expected every moment to be put to death, notwithstanding Powhatan's fair words. But, as the narrative of his adventures has it, "Almighty God, by his divine Providence, had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion." Smith reached Jamestown in safety, after an absence of seven weeks, and treated his savage guides with great hospitality and kindness. He showed them two demi-culverins and a millstone, which they proposed to carry to Powhatan, but found them too heavy. He ordered the culverins to be loaded with stones and discharged among the boughs of a tree covered with icicles, in order to magnify to them the effects of these formidable engines. When they heard the report, and saw the ice and the branches come rattling down, they were greatly terrified. A few trinkets restored their confidence, and they were dismissed with a variety of presents for Powhatan and his family.

The generous conduct of Powhatan, in restoring a prisoner who had given such fatal proofs of courage and prowess, is worthy of the highest admiration. There is hardly any thing in history, that can afford a parallel to

it He was stimulated to take the prisoner's life, not only by revenge, a passion strongest in savage breasts, but by policy and that regard to his own interests, which Christian and civilized monarchs are justified in observing. He seems to have acted from some religious feeling, regarding Smith, either as a supernatural being, or as under the special protection of a higher power. How far this may have actuated him, or how far he may have been influenced by affection for his daughter, it is impossible to say ; but, supposing both to have operated, we only elevate his conduct by elevating his motives. He must have been a noble being indeed, in whom religion or domestic affection could overcome the strong impulses of passion, revenge, and interest.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival of Newport from England. — His Visit to Powhatan. — His Return.

SMITH's absence from Jamestown seems to have been always attended with evil consequences to the colony. The moment his back was turned, the unruly spirits, whom he alone could curb,

broke out into disaffection and mutiny. He found "all in combustion" on his return. The colony was split into two factions, the stronger of which was preparing to quit the country in the bark. Captain Smith, at the hazard of his life, defeated this project, bringing his cannon to bear upon the bark, and threatening to sink her if they did not stay. In revenge for this, a conspiracy was formed by several, and among them the President, to put him to death, for the lives of Robinson and Emry, whom they said, he had led to their death, and he was consequently guilty of their murder. Such cobweb meshes as these could not hold a man like Smith; for "he quickly took such order with such lawyers, that he laid them by the heels, till he sent some of them prisoners to England." His relation of the plenty he had witnessed in the Indian territory, and of the power and liberality of Powhatan, cheered their drooping spirits, which were revived and sustained by the kindness of Pocahontas; whose deliverance of Smith was not a transient impulse, but consistent with her whole character, and who, with her attendants, every four or five days brought them abundance of provisions, thereby saving the lives of many that must otherwise have perished with hunger. The savages also came in great numbers, bringing presents continually to Captain Smith, and offer-

ing commodities for sale, at the prices which he himself set. His influence over them was unbounded, and they were ready, at his nod, to do any thing he required. They knew that he worshipped one supreme God, the Creator and Preserver of all things, whom they would call, in conversation, the God of Captain Smith.

This high opinion was much confirmed by the arrival of Captain Newport, at the time at which Smith had predicted to them it would happen, being in the latter part of the year 1607. Two ships had sailed from England, one commanded by Newport, and the other by Captain Nelson, the latter of which was dismasted on the coast of America, and blown off to the West Indies. Newport brought with him a reinforcement of men and provisions, and all things necessary. His arrival was a source of great joy to the colonists, but was in the end productive of some embarrassments. The President and council (Ratcliffe and Martin, Smith himself being the third), who had been always jealous of Smith's influence over the natives, endeavored to raise their credit and authority over them higher than his, by giving them four times as much for their goods as he had appointed. To gratify the mariners also, they gave them liberty to trade as much as they pleased ; and the consequence was in a short time that the market was so glutted,

that a pound of copper could not procure what was formerly obtained for an ounce, the laws of political economy operating, before the science was heard of. Their trade was also injured by Captain Newport, who lavished his presents with the profuseness of a true sailor. They served, however, to impress Powhatan with a high idea of Newport's greatness, and made him very desirous of seeing him.

Accordingly the bark was prepared for a visit to Powhatan. Captain Newport was attended by Smith and Mr. Matthew Scrivener, a gentleman of sense and discretion, who had come over with Newport, and been admitted a member of the council, and by a guard of thirty or forty men. When they came to Werowocomoco, Newport began to entertain suspicions of treachery. They were obliged to cross many creeks and streams on bridges loosely made of poles and bark, and so frail that he imagined them to be traps set by the Indians. But Smith assured him there was nothing to fear, and with twenty men, leaving the bark, undertook to go forward and accomplish the journey alone. He went on, and was met by two or three hundred Indians, who conducted him and his companions into the town. He was received with shouts of welcome on all sides. Powhatan exerted himself to the utmost to set before him the most sumptuous and plentiful ban-

quet he could provide. Four or five hundred men attended as a guard, and proclamation was made, that no one should do any harm to the English on pain of death.

The next day Newport came on shore, and was likewise warmly and hospitably received. An English boy, named Thomas Savage, was given by him to Powhatan, and he received in exchange, an intelligent and faithful Indian, named Namontack. Three or four days they spent in feasting, dancing, and trading, during which time the old chief behaved with such dignity, discretion, and propriety, as impressed his English visitors with the highest opinion of his natural capacity. His shrewdness in driving a bargain was displayed in a manner, which, but for Smith's superior tact, would have resulted in the great pecuniary loss of the English.

He would not condescend to haggle and barter for specific articles, as his subjects did, and told Captain Newport that it was not agreeable to his greatness "to trade for trifles in this peddling manner," and that, as they were both great and powerful men, their mutual transactions ought to be conducted on a scale of proportionate magnitude. He proposed to him, that Newport should lay down his commodities in a lump, and that he should select from them what he wanted, and give in return what he considered an equivalent

The proposal was interpreted to Newport by Smith, who, at the same time, told him that all these fine words meant merely that Powhatan intended to cheat him if he could, and warned him not to accept his terms. Newport, however, who was a vain, ostentatious man, expecting to dazzle the chief with his greatness, or charm him with his liberality, accepted them, in the hope of having any request, he might make, readily granted. The result proved that Smith was right; for Powhatan, in selecting the articles that he wished and giving others in return, valued his corn at such a rate, that, as the writer of the narrative says, it might have been bought cheaper in old Spain, for they hardly received four bushels where they counted upon twenty hogsheads.

Smith was much provoked at Newport's being so palpably overreached; but, dissembling his chagrin so as to avoid suspicion, he determined to obtain an equivalent advantage over the wily savage. He took out, as if accidentally, a variety of toys and gewgaws, and contrived to let Powhatan observe some blue beads. His eyes sparkled with pleasure at the sight, and he eagerly desired to obtain them. Smith, however, was reluctant to part with them, they being, as he said, composed of a very rare substance, of the color of the skies, and fit to be worn only by the greatest kings in the world. Powhatan's ardor was inflamed by oppo-

sition, and he resolved to have the precious jewels at any price. A bargain was finally struck to the satisfaction of all parties, by which Smith exchanged a pound or two of blue beads for two or three hundred bushels of corn. A similar negotiation was entered into with Opechancanough at Pamunkey. These blue beads were held in such estimation among the Indians, that none but their principal chiefs and the members of their families were allowed to wear them.

They returned with their treasures to Jamestown, where, shortly after, a fire broke out, which burnt several of their houses (they being thatched with reeds, which rendered them very combustible), and occasioned them a considerable loss in arms, bedding, wearing-apparel, and provision. Among the principal sufferers, was their good clergyman, Mr. Hunt, who lost all he had, including his books, which must have been a most severe affliction to a scholar in that lone wilderness. Yet we are told, that no one ever heard him repine on account of his loss. Notwithstanding this misfortune, their remaining stock of oatmeal, meal, and corn would have been sufficient for their wants, had not the ship loitered in the country fourteen weeks, when she might have sailed in fourteen days, and thereby greatly increased the number of mouths to be fed. They were also obliged, on the departure of the ship,

to furnish to the crew abundant provisions without any equivalent, as they had neither money nor goods, nor credit. All this was to be done cheerfully, that the report of it might induce others to come, and gain "golden opinions" for them from the council at home. "Such," says Stith, "was their necessity and misfortune, to be under the lash of those vile commanders, and to buy their own provisions at fifteen times their value; suffering them to feast at their charge, whilst themselves were obliged to fast, and yet dare not repine, lest they should incur the censure of being factious and seditious persons." Their stock of provisions was so contracted by these means and by their unlucky fire, that they were reduced to great extremity. The loss of their houses exposed many, with very imperfect shelter, to the severity of a most bitter winter; and not a few died before spring, from the combined effects of cold and hunger.

The delay of Newport's ship was occasioned by one of those gold-fevers which break out so frequently among men, to the great prejudice of their reason and common sense. As it is well known, the most extravagant notions were entertained in Europe of the riches of the New World; and it is not going too far to say, that it was thought impossible to thrust a shovel into American soil, without bringing up a lump of

gold. As a proof that Virginia formed no exception to this general rule, among those who left England with Captains Newport and Nelson, were two goldsmiths, two refiners, and one jeweller; artificers, one would think, in very little demand in a new colony, where most men would, like *Æsop's* cock, prefer a grain of barley to the most precious gem in the world.*

* There appears to have been a great want of judgment shown in the selection of the colonists. Of eighty-two persons, whose names are preserved, that first came over to Jamestown, forty-eight were designated gentlemen, four were carpenters, twelve were laborers, and the others boys and mechanics. Of seventy-four names of those who came out with Newport and Nelson (one hundred and twenty in all), thirty-two were gentlemen, twenty-three were laborers, six were tailors, and two apothecaries. These "gentlemen" were probably dissolute, broken-down adventurers, bankrupts in character as well as fortune, needy and extravagant younger sons of good families, whom their friends were happy to be quit of on any terms; incapable alike of industry and subordination, indolent, mutinous, and reckless. These are the men, who so constantly tried the patience of Smith, a saving grace, which, as the reader may have perceived, he had not in great abundance; and who provoked him to write in the following terms; "Being for the most part of such tender educations and small experience in martial accidents, because they found not English cities, nor such fair houses, nor at their own wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and down

In a small rivulet near Jamestown was found a glittering, yellowish sand, (its lustre probably derived from particles of mica,) which their excitable imaginations immediately believed to be gold. This became the all-absorbing topic of thought and discourse, and "there was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." The unskilful refiners, whom Newport had brought over with him, pronounced this shining sand to be very valuable ore, forgetting that "all that glisters is not gold." This, of course, carried the frenzy to its height, and, confirmed by the testimony of men of supposed skill and experience, every one indulged in the most magnificent

pillows, taverns and ale-houses in every breathing-place, neither such plenty of gold and silver and dissolute liberty, as they expected, they had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our pinnaces, or procure their means to return for England. For the country was to them a misery, a ruin, a death, a hell, and their reports here and their actions there according." Another writer, describing the character of the colonists at the time of Smith's departure for England, observes, after enumerating a few useful mechanics, "All the rest were poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth, than either begin one, or but help to maintain one." — *Smith's Virginia*, (*Richmond Edition*,) Vol. I. p. 241.

visions of wealth and aggrandizement. Nothing would content Newport, but the freighting of his ship with this worthless trash, to the great mortification and chagrin of Captain Smith, who was no believer in golden dreams, and foresaw the evil consequences of neglecting duties of the most important nature, to chase phantoms and bubbles. The writer of this portion of the History of the colony says, "never did any thing more torment him, than to see all necessary business neglected, to freight such a drunken ship with so much gilded dirt." Wingfield and Captain Archer returned with Newport to England, which afforded to Smith a slight balm of consolation for his troubles and vexations.

As soon as the spring opened, Smith and Scrivener (who had been admitted a member of the council) set themselves diligently to work to rebuild Jamestown, to repair the church, storehouse, and fortifications, and to cut down trees and plant corn for the ensuing season. While they were thus occupied, Captain Nelson arrived in the Phoenix, from the West Indies, where he had remained during the winter. He was received with great joy, as he had long been given up for lost. He brought an ample stock of provisions, enough to relieve the colony from all apprehensions of want for the next half-year. His

generous and manly conduct endeared him to the settlers, and his presence seemed to diffuse a general activity and spirit of enterprise among them. Even the President was roused from his usual sluggishness and imbecility ; for, says the writer of this portion of the History, “ to re-lade this ship with some good tidings, the President (not holding it stood with the dignity of his place to leave the fort) gave order to Captain Smith to discover and search the commodities of the Monacans’ country beyond the Falls.” Sixty men were allotted to him for this expedition, which he was prevented from undertaking, by troubles near at hand.

At Captain Newport’s departure, Powhatan, who perceived the superiority of the English weapons over the rude ones of his own people, made him a present of twenty turkeys, as a token of his regard, desiring him to send in return twenty swords, which request was inconsiderately granted. He afterwards made a similar present to Captain Smith, expecting a like return ; but, finding himself disappointed, he ordered his people to hover round Jamestown, and take possession of the Englishmen’s weapons, whenever they had an opportunity, either by stratagem or force. These orders were faithfully executed, and were productive of great annoyance and inconvenience to the colonists. No notice was taken of their depredations for a time, because they had strict

orders from England to keep on the best possible terms with Powhatan and his people. "This charitable humor prevailed till well it chanced they meddled with Captain Smith," who then took the matter into his own hands, and acted with such promptness and energy, punishing so severely the offenders whom he detected, that Powhatan found he was playing a losing game; so "he sent his messengers and his dearest daughter Pocahontas with presents, to excuse him of the injuries done by some rash untoward captains, his subjects, desiring their liberties for this time, with the assurance of his love for ever."* Smith dismissed his prisoners, after giving them "what correction he saw fit," pretending to be thus merciful only for the sake of Pocahontas. His conduct was too resolute and spirited to meet the approbation of his colleagues in the council; though it had struck such terror into the Indians, and that too without any bloodshed, that they no longer molested the colonists, whereas before they "had sometime peace and war twice in a day, and very seldom a week but they had some treacherous villany or other."

The Phoenix was sent home in June, 1608,

* How consistent is tyranny! Powhatan's disavowal of his express orders is worthy of King John or Louis the Eleventh.

with a load of cedar, by Captain Smith's influence; though Martin was very anxious that she also should be loaded with golden sand. He was "willingly admitted" to return with her to England, being a sickly and inefficient man, and having his head so full of golden dreams, as to make him useless, whatever might have been his natural capacity.

CHAPTER VII.

Captain Smith explores the Chesapeake in two Expeditions. — He is chosen President of the Colony.

THE enterprising character of Captain Smith prompted him to an arduous undertaking, namely, the examination and survey of Chesapeake Bay, to ascertain more completely the resources of the country and to open a friendly communication with its native inhabitants. He set out in an open barge of about three tons' burden, accompanied by Dr. Russell and thirteen others. They left Jamestown on the 2d of June, 1608, in company with the *Phoenix*, and parted with her at Cape Henry. They then crossed the bay to the eastern shore and fell in with a cluster of islands

East of Cape Charles, to which they gave the name of Smith's Isles, in honor of their commander, an appellation still retained.

They were directed by two Indians, whom they saw, to Accomac, the habitation of their chief, situated in the southwestern part of Northampton County. He received them with kindness, and is spoken of by them as the most affable and good-looking savage they had ever seen. He spoke the language of Powhatan, and told them that his people had been afflicted with a heavy pestilence, which had carried them almost all off. They then coasted along the eastern shore of the bay, searching every inlet that seemed proper for habitations or harbors, and landing frequently, sometimes upon the main land, sometimes upon the islands, which they called Russell's Islands, since called Tangier Islands. They discovered and sailed up the river Pocomoke in search of fresh water, for want of which they suffered a good deal, that which they obtained being very muddy.

Leaving this river, they directed their course to certain other islands, and when they were among them, their sail and mast were blown overboard by a sudden squall, and for two days the weather was so stormy, that they had great difficulty in keeping their boat from sinking. They named these islands Limbo, in commemo-

ration of their toils and sufferings, a name which has since been changed to Watts's Islands.

Departing from these islands, they came to the River Wicomico, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where the natives were at first disposed to resist them, but were conciliated and made friendly by some toys left in their huts, after they had been a little frightened by discharges of fire-arms. These Indians were the wealthiest and most given to commerce and manufactures of any they had ever seen. Finding the eastern coast lined with low, irregular islands, and for the most part without fresh water, they directed their course westward to the mouth of Patuxent River. They sailed thirty leagues further to the north without finding any inhabitants, the coast being well watered but mountainous and barren, except the valleys, which were fertile, well wooded, and abounding in wolves, bears, deer, and other animals. They passed by many coves and small streams, and came to a large river, which they named Bolus, and which was probably that now called Patapsco. At this place, discontent broke out among Smith's crew, who were most of them unaccustomed to a life of such toil and hardship. They had spent twelve or fourteen days in an open boat, toiling at the oar, and their bread was damaged with the rain; yet, as we are told, "so good were

their stomachs that they could digest it." Captain Smith addressed them in terms of mingled authority and persuasiveness; told them how disgraceful it would be for them to return, while they had such abundance of provision, and before they had accomplished any thing of importance; and assured them of his readiness to share every danger and labor, and to take the worst upon himself whenever there was any choice. Their reluctance to proceed any further was much increased by adverse weather, and, three or four of them falling sick, their piteous entreaties induced Captain Smith to return.

On the 16th of June they fell in with the mouth of the Potomac. The sight of this majestic river revived their drooping spirits, and, their invalids having recovered, they readily consented to explore it. For thirty miles, they found no inhabitants, but were afterwards conducted by two of the natives up a little creek, where they found themselves surrounded by three or four thousand Indians, lying in ambuscade, "so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, shouting, yelling, and crying, as so many spirits from hell could not have showed more terrible." Their demeanor was very menacing; but Smith prepared to receive them with great coolness, and, commanding the muskets to be discharged, the grazing of the bullets upon the water, and the report, which

the woods multiplied into a thousand echoes, filled them with alarm. They threw down their arms, and made professions of peace, which was ratified by an exchange of hostages. They now treated the English with great kindness, and frankly told them that they had been commanded to lie in wait for them, and cut them off, by Powhatan, who had been informed of the expedition, and incited to take this step, by some discontented spirits at Jamestown, because Captain Smith obliged them to stay in the country against their will. This fact alone will give the reader some notion of the infamy and worthlessness of some of the colonists.

They were conducted by Japazaws, the chief of the Indians in that part, to a mine, of which they had heard a good deal, upon one of the tributary streams of the Potomac. It produced a substance like antimony, which the Indians, after having washed it and put it up in bags, used to paint themselves and their idols with. It made "them look like Blackamoors dusted over with silver." Newport had carried some of these bags to England, and reported that the substance they contained was half silver. They reached the mine, and brought back as much of its product as they could carry, which proved in the end to be of no value. No mineral treasures at all were found, but they collected some furs.

The Indians whom they met, generously supplied them with the flesh of animals. They frequently found the waters alive with innumerable fish, and not having any net, as their bark was sailing among them, they attempted to catch them with a frying-pan, "but," the narrative gravely adds, "we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with."

They explored the Potomac as far as their bark would go, and then returned. Though they frequently were exposed to danger from the open or treacherous assaults of the savages, Captain Smith's resolute conduct always averted it. He invariably met them with great boldness; and, if they were desirous of peace, he would demand their weapons and some of their children, as sureties for their good faith, and by their refusal or compliance he learned in what light to consider them and what measures to take with them.

Desiring before his return to visit the Indians whom he had known in his captivity, he entered the mouth of the river Rappahannoc, where, at low tide, their boat ran aground. While they were waiting for the flood, they occupied themselves in sticking with the points of their swords the fishes, which were left upon the flats in such numbers, that they took in this way more in an hour than they could eat in a day. Captain Smith, in taking from the point of his sword

a *stingray*, (which is described in the narrative as "being much in the fashion of a thornback," but with "a long tail like a riding-rod, whereon the midst is a most poisoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side,") was wounded by its sharp thorn, to the depth of an inch and a half, in the wrist. The wound, though it drew no blood, became extremely painful; and in a few hours his arm and shoulder were so much swollen, that his companions concluded his death was at hand, and were so confident of it, that with heavy hearts they dug his grave in an island hard by. But by the timely application of a "precious oil" by Dr. Russell, after the wound had been probed, he recovered from the ill effects of it so quickly, that he was able to take his revenge upon the fish by eating a piece of it for his supper. The place, where this accident occurred, was named in consequence of it *Stingray Point*, as it is still called.

They returned to Jamestown on the 21st of July. By way of frolic, they disguised their boat with painted streamers in such a way, that they were mistaken by the colonists for a Spanish frigate, to their no small consternation. Smith found that his absence had been attended with its usual ill consequences. All those who had lately come over were sick; and the whole com

pany were spiritless, discontented, and full of indignation against their selfish and inefficient President; who, instead of actively mingling in the interests of the colonists, and sharing their toils and privations, had been living in abundance upon the public stores, and was building for himself a pleasant retreat in the woods, where his ear might not be pained by murmurs and complaints.

They were somewhat comforted by the accounts of the expedition, and (what now cannot be read without a smile) by "the good hope we had by the savages' relation, that our bay had stretched into the South Sea or somewhat near it." They would not hear, however, of Ratcliffe's continuing in the office of President, but insisted upon his being deposed, which was accordingly done, and Smith chosen in his place; by which he was invested with the title and badges of a station, the substantial authority of which he had long enjoyed. Being about to depart upon another expedition, he appointed Mr. Scrivener, his deputy, who at that time was sick with a fever. This deputy distributed impartially the public stores which Ratcliffe had engrossed, and made such arrangements as would enable the colonists to interrupt their labors during the extreme heat of the summer, and thus recruit their wasted strength.

Captain Smith remained at home but three days, and on the 24th of July set out on another exploring expedition accompanied by twelve men. They were detained two or three days at Kecoughtan (Hampton) by contrary winds, where they were hospitably entertained by the Indians. At night they discharged a few rockets into the air, which greatly alarmed their simple hosts. The first night of their voyage they anchored at Stingray Point, and the next day, crossing the Potomac at its mouth, they hastened on to the river Bolus (Patapsco). They proceeded onwards to the head of the bay, which ended in four streams, all of which they explored as far as their boat would carry them. Two of them they found with inhabitants on their banks, namely the Susquesahanoc (Susquehanna) and Tockwogh, since called Sassafra. In crossing the bay they met seven or eight canoes full of Massawomecs. These were a great and powerful nation dwelling far to the north, of whom Captain Smith had heard a great deal among Powhatan's people. They were a great terror to the tribes living on the Chesapeake Bay, with whom they were almost constantly at war. *

* The Massawomecs are supposed to have been the great Northern Confederacy, called by the French the Iroquois, and by the English, The Five Nations, and

They prepared at first to assault the English, which might have been attended with fatal consequences to the whole company, as they had but six men who could stand upon their feet, the rest being disabled by sickness. By putting upon sticks the hats of the sick and stationing between every two sticks a man with two muskets, they contrived to multiply their apparent strength, so that the Indians paddled swiftly to the shore. They were followed, and with some difficulty persuaded to go on board the barge, where presents were interchanged. By signs they intimated that they were at war with the Indians dwelling on the river Tockwogh; and the fresh and bleeding wounds upon some of them showed that there had been a recent battle.

The next day, on entering the river Tockwogh, they were surrounded with a fleet of canoes filled with armed men. On seeing the weapons of the Massawomecs in the hands of the English, (which they had received as presents, but which, sacrificing truth to policy, they gave the Indians to understand had been taken in battle,)

afterwards, The Six Nations, whose seat was in the State of New York, but whose conquests were extended so far, that they have been called the Romans of America. — *Stith*, p. 67; *Encyclopædia Americana*, Art *Iroquois*.

they led them in triumph to their village and entertained them hospitably. They saw among this people hatchets, knives, and pieces of iron and brass, which, they said, were obtained from the Susquesahanocs, a mighty nation, who dwelt upon the river of the same name, two days' journey above the Falls, and who were mortal enemies of the Massawomecs. Captain Smith prevailed upon them to send an embassy to this people inviting them to come and see him; which was accordingly done, and, in three or four days, sixty of them came down with presents of various kinds.

Captain Smith has spoken of these Susquesahanocs in terms which would lead one to suppose that he borrowed more from imagination than memory in his description, and that his romantic fancy and ardent temperament made him, perhaps unconsciously, exaggerate the sober truth. He speaks of them as a race of giants, "and, for their language, it may well besee their proportions, sounding from them as a voice in a vault." Their clothing was the skins of bears and wolves, with the paws, the ears, and the head disposed in such a way, as to make it at once more picturesque and terrible. "One had the head of a wolf hanging in a chain for a jewel, his tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deer, or some such de

vice at the great end, sufficient to beat out one's brains; with bows, arrows, and clubs, suitable to their greatness." To those who have since seen this gigantic people, with the unassisted eye of reason, they have dwindled to the common proportions of mankind.

Their tribe was a numerous one, mustering six hundred fighting men. They dwelt in palisadoed towns to defend themselves against the Massawomecs, their deadly foes. In their manners they were mild and simple, and knew nothing of Powhatan or his people except by name. They informed the English, that their hatchets and other commodities came from the French in Canada. They looked upon the English as beings of an order superior to men, and for Captain Smith their veneration was unbounded. An incident is related by the narrator of the progress of this expedition, which shows at once the piety of Captain Smith, and that natural instinct of religion which dwells alike in the breast of the heathen and the Christian, the savage and the civilized man. "Our order was daily to have prayer with a psalm, at which solemnities the poor savages much wondered; our prayers being done, a while they were busied with a consultation till they had contrived their business. Then they began in a most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the sun, with a most fearful song

then embracing our Captain, they began to adore him in like manner; though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished.' They afterwards invested him with the office of a chief, loaded him with presents, and invited him to come and aid them against the Massawomecs.

Leaving these kind and friendly strangers, they returned down the bay, to the Rappahannoc, exploring every inlet and river of any consequence, and giving to the various capes and headlands the names of members of the company or of their friends. At the extreme points to which they explored the several rivers, they cut crosses in the bark of trees, and in some places bored holes in them, wherein they deposited notes, and, in some cases, brazen crosses, to signify that the English had been there.

In passing up the river Rappahannoc, they were kindly entertained by a tribe of Indians called the Moraughtacunds. They met there an Indian named Mosco, who is styled an "old friend," though we hear of him now for the first time. They had probably seen him on their former expedition. They supposed him to be the son of some Frenchman, because, unlike every other Indian whom they had seen, he had a bushy black beard. He was not a little proud of this distinction, and called the Englishmen "his countrymen." He devoted himself to them with great

assiduity and uniform kindness. He advised them not to visit the Rappahannocs, who lived higher up the river, as they would endeavor to kill them for being the friends of the Moraughta cunds, who had lately stolen three of their chief's women.

Captain Smith, thinking that this was merely an artifice to secure a profitable trade to his own friends, disregarded his counsels; but the event proved that he was right. Under pretence of trade, the English were decoyed by them into a creek, where an ambuscade was prepared for them. A skirmish took place in which the Rappahannocs had many killed and wounded, but none of the English were hurt. They took three or four canoes, which they presented to Mosco in requital of his kindness.

Before proceeding any further, they employed themselves in surrounding their boat with a sort of bulwark, made of the targets, which they had received from the Massawomecs, and which they had found a great protection against the arrows of the Rappahannocs. They were made of small twigs, woven together with strings of wild hemp and silk-grass, so firmly and compactly as to make them perfectly arrow-proof. Their virtue was soon put to the test; for on the next day they received a volley, while they were in a narrow part of the river, from thirty or forty Rappahannocs,

who "had so accommodated themselves with branches," that they were mistaken for bushes growing along the shore. Their arrows, however, striking against the targets, fell harmless into the river.

They were kindly treated by the rest of the nations as far as the Falls. While they were upon the river, they lost one of their number, Mr. Richard Fetherstone, by death. He had borne an unexceptionable character from the first, behaving himself "honestly, valiantly, and industriously." His remains were buried, with appropriate honors, on the shore of a small bay, which they called by his name. The other members of the expedition, who had almost all of them been more or less sick, had now recovered their health.

Having sailed up the Rappahannoc as far as their bark would carry them, they set up crosses and carved their names upon the bark of trees, as usual. While they were rambling about the Falls, they were suddenly attacked by about a hundred Indians, who, in their irregular mode of warfare, kept darting about from tree to tree, continually discharging arrows, but with no effect. In about half an hour they retreated as suddenly as they approached. As the English returned from pursuing them they found one of their number lying upon the ground, having been wounded in the knee with a bullet. Mosco, who had behaved with great courage in the skirmish, showed,

at the sight of him, the unrelenting cruelty of his race ; for, says the narrative, with more force than elegance, “never was dog more furious against a bear, than Mosco was to have beat out his brains.” But he was rescued from this violence ; and, his wounds having been dressed by the surgeon, he was in an hour so far recovered as to be able to eat and speak. By the aid of Mosco, they learned from him that he was the brother of the chief of the tribe of Hassininga, one of the four which made up the nation of the Mannahocs. When asked why his people attacked the English, who came to them with both the intentions and the appearance of friends, he said, that they had heard that the English were a nation come from under the world to take their world from them. Being further asked how many worlds he knew, he answered, that he knew of none but that which was under the sky that covered him, whose sole inhabitants were, besides his own nation, the Powhatans, the Monacans, and the Massawomecs. To the inquiry, what there was beyond the mountains, he replied, the sun. They made him many presents and persuaded him to accompany them.

At night they set sail and proceeded down the river. They were presently followed by the Mannahocs on the banks, who kept discharging arrows at the boat and yelling and shrieking sc

loud, as to render it impossible for their countryman in the boat, whose name was Amorolec, to make his voice audible to them. But in the calm of the morning they anchored in a quiet and broad bay, and their captive was able to address his countrymen and inform them, how kindly the English had treated him; that he had been promised his liberty if they would be friendly; and that as to injuring the strangers at all with their inferior weapons, it was quite out of the question. Encouraged by these statements, they hung their bows and arrows upon the trees, and two of them, without suspicion, swam to the bark, bringing the one a bow and the other a quiver of arrows, which they presented to Captain Smith in token of submission. He received them very kindly, and told them that, if the chiefs of their four tribes would submit to him, that the great King, whose subject he was, would be their friend. This was immediately assented to; and, on going ashore on a low, jutting point of land, the four chiefs came and received their countryman, Amorolec. They wondered at every thing belonging to the English, and mistook their pistols for pipes. After giving and receiving many presents, the English took their departure, leaving four or five hundred Indians singing, dancing, and making merry.

On their return, they visited their friends the Moraughtacunds, who were desirous that Captain Smith should make peace with the Rappahannocs, as he had done with the Mannahocs. This pacific counsel, so foreign to the Indian character, was probably given, that they themselves might be more secure, as they were generally understood to be the friends and allies of the English. Captain Smith told them that he was ready to make peace, but that, as the Rappahannocs had twice assaulted him without any provocation, and when he came with the most friendly intentions, he should exact certain conditions from them. These were, that they should present him with the bow and arrows of their chief, in token of submission, that they should never come armed into his presence, that they should make peace with the Moraughtacunds and give up their chief's son, to be a hostage and a security for the performance of the stipulated terms.

A message was sent to the chief of the Rappahannocs, who accepted all the conditions except the last, saying that he had but one son and could not live without him, a strong instance of affection, in one of a race, which has generally been supposed to be peculiarly devoid of the finer sensibilities of the heart. He offered, instead of his son, to give up the three women whom the Moraughtacunds had stolen from him.

which proposition was accepted. The women being brought before Captain Smith, he presented each of them with a chain of beads. He then permitted the chief of the Rappahannocs to choose, from the three, the one whom he preferred; to the chief of the Moraughtacunds he gave the next choice; and the remaining woman he gave to Mosco; an arrangement which was satisfactory to all parties. The triple peace was concluded with great rejoicings of men, women, and children, of whom no less than six or seven hundred were assembled. Mosco, to express his love for the English, changed his name to Uttasantough, which means *stranger*, the word by which they were called.

On departing from the Rappahannoc, they explored the Piankatank as far as it was navigable, and steered for home. While they were in the bay, a few miles south of York River, they were surprised in the night with so violent a storm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning, that they gave themselves up for lost, but were enabled finally to reach Point Comfort. As they had discovered so many nations at a distance, they thought it would be hardly consistent for them to return home, without visiting their neighbors, the Chesapeakes and Nansemonds, of whom as yet they had only heard. Therefore they set sail for the southern shore, and went up

a narrow river, then called the Chesapeake but since Elizabeth, on which Norfolk stands. They sailed six or seven miles, but seeing no living beings, though they observed signs of habitation they returned. Having coasted along the shore to the mouth of the Nansemond, they perceived there six or seven Indians mending their weirs for fishing, who fled at the sight of the English. They went on shore and left some toys in the place, where the Indians had been working, and returned to their boat. They had not gone far, before the Indians returned, and began to sing and dance and call them back. One of them came into the boat of his own accord, and invited them to his house, which was a few miles up the river. This invitation they accepted and sailed six or seven miles, the other Indians accompanying them, running on the banks. They saw on the western shore large corn-fields, and in the midst of the river an island, upon which was situated the house of the Indian who was with them, and which was also thickly covered with corn. The Indian treated them kindly, and showed them his wife and children, to whom they made suitable presents. The other Indians invited them further up the river to their houses, and accompanied them for some distance in a canoe.

Some suspicious circumstances in their deportment led the English to apprehend that all was

not right, and to provide for the worst, especially when they perceived that they were followed by seven or eight canoes full of armed men. They were not long left in suspense, for they were suddenly attacked by two or three hundred men, from each side of the river, who discharged arrows at them as fast as they could draw their bows. Those in the canoes also shot at them; but they returned so galling a fire from their muskets, that most of them leaped overboard, and swam to the shore. The English soon fell down the stream, till they reached a position, where the arrows of the Indians could not touch them, but which was within musket-shot of their foes, and a few discharges made them retire behind the trees. The English then seized upon their deserted canoes, and moored them in the stream. Though they had received more than a hundred arrows in their targets, and about the boat, no one was hurt. They determined to punish the treacherous Indians, by burning every thing upon the island at night, and in the mean time began to demolish their canoes. At the sight of this, those on shore threw down their arms and sued for peace; which was granted on condition that they would bring their chief's bow and arrows and a chain of pearl, and four hundred baskets of corn, otherwise their canoes should be destroyed and their houses burnt. These conditions they

assented to, and loaded the boat with corn as full as it would hold, with which the English departed, and arrived at Jamestown without any further adventure, on the 7th of September, 1608.

In these two expeditions Captain Smith was absent a little over three months, excepting an interval of three days which was spent at James town; and he had sailed, upon his own computation, about three thousand miles. It was an enterprise of great difficulty and considerable hazard, and its complete success is to be ascribed to his remarkable personal qualities. His intercourse with the natives required the exercise of the greatest firmness, address, and self-command; while, in the management of his own company, authority and persuasive influence were to be mingled with the nicest tact. He was obliged to overawe the refractory, to encourage the sick and drooping, to enliven the desponding, and to infuse his own adventurous and enterprising spirit into the indolent and timid. He explored the whole of the Chesapeake Bay, and of the country lying upon its banks, and constructed a map of it, which is very accurate, taking all circumstances into consideration.

CHAPTER VIII.

Second Arrival of Newport.—Abortive Expedition to explore the Interior.—Injudicious Conduct of the Council in England.—Their Letter to Captain Smith.—His Reply.

ON their arrival at Jamestown they found that many had died during their absence and many were still sick ; but that some, whom they had left sick, Mr. Scrivener among the rest, were restored to health. This gentleman had performed well the duties of deputy-governor, and had provided for the gathering and storing of the harvest. Ratcliffe, their late President, was a prisoner for mutiny. On the 10th of September, Captain Smith was formally inducted into the office of President, and entered upon the administration of its duties with his usual spirit and activity. The church and store-house were repaired, and a new building was erected for the supplies, which were expected from England. The fort was put in order, a watch duly set, and the whole company was drilled in military exercises, every Saturday, on a plain towards the west, where the Indians would often gather round them in great numbers, to witness the execution done by their bullets upon the bark of a tree, which they used as a target.

As it was about the time of the Indian harvest, an expedition set out under the command of Lieutenant Percy to trade with the Indians, but, meeting Captain Newport in the bay, they came back with him. He had brought over about seventy individuals, some of whom were persons of distinction, and two of whom, Captain Peter Wynne, and Captain Richard Waldo, were appointed members of the council. In this ship there came the first Englishwomen, that ever were in Virginia, Mrs. Forrest and her maid Anne Burras. The company had also, with singular want of judgment, sent out eight Germans to make pitch, tar, glass, and potash, who would have been welcomed to a populous and thriving country, but who were useless incumbrances in an infant colony, which was struggling for existence, and all the energies of which were directed to the procuring of daily bread.

The instructions which Captain Newport had brought out with him, and the authority with which he had been clothed, are a monument of the folly of the council in England, in dictating the measures and course of policy to be pursued in a colony, three thousand miles distant, and of whose interests and condition they showed themselves so thoroughly ignorant. Stith, in his homely fashion, says of Newport himself, that he was "an empty, idle, interested man, very fearful

and suspicious in times of danger and difficulty, but a very great and important person in his own talk and conceit." He had a mean jealousy of Captain Smith on account of his brilliant qualities and the estimation in which he was held by the colonists; and his influence with the council and company in England induced them to give him such peculiar powers as would enable him at once to gratify his own conceit, and, as he thought, to vex and mortify his rival. He obtained from them a special commission, by which he was authorized to act, in certain cases, independently of the council, and in which three objects were laid down as essential. He was not to return without either discovering the South Sea, or bringing back a lump of gold or some one of the lost company, which had been sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh.*

It is difficult to believe that such preposterous requisitions could have been made by men in their senses; but their madness was deliberate, as its "method" will show. A barge had been constructed and brought over, which was capable of being taken to pieces and put together again, and

* This refers to a colony of one hundred persons, who had been left on the island of Roanoke in North Carolina, by Captain White, under the guidance and direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1587, and were never afterwards heard of, being probably cut off by the Indians.

in which they were to make a voyage to the head of the river. It was then to be carried across the mountains and launched upon the streams, which were supposed to run westerly and flow into the South Sea. As they must pass through Powhatan's territory, it was proper to make extraordinary exertions to secure his favor; and for this purpose a royal present was brought over for him, consisting of a bason and ewer, a bed and furniture, a chair of state, a suit of scarlet clothes, a cloak, and a crown.

Newport soon opened his budget, and unfolded to the council his strange powers and wild schemes. Captain Smith, whose strong good sense and knowledge of the country enabled him to perceive, at a glance, their impolicy and even impracticability, opposed their execution most strenuously. He said, that it was sheer madness to employ the precious time of the colonists, which ought to be fully occupied in providing for the winter, in the visionary scheme of a search for the South Sea, through an unknown country, full of merciless enemies; and that, worn out with fatigue and sickness as they were, it would be impossible for them to carry the boat over the mountains. As to the sumptuous presents brought over for Powhatan, he was opposed to their being presented, because he said that he could always be sure of his good-will by a piece

of copper or a few beads, but that this "stately kind of soliciting" would make him insolent and contemptuous beyond all endurance. These arguments, convincing in themselves and strongly recommended by the character and experience of their supporter, were however overruled in council principally by means of Newport's sanguine promises and assurances. He was ungenerous enough to insinuate that Smith's opposition to his expedition arose from a wish to monopolize the glory of the discovery himself, and that the only obstacle to its success would be the desire of the Indians to take vengeance upon the English for the cruelties which he had formerly inflicted upon them.

This decision afforded to Captain Smith an opportunity to show the real greatness and magnanimity of his character. Though he was President, no sooner did he find the majority of the council against him, than, without any further opposition or sullen obstinacy, he lent his most vigorous efforts to the prosecution of the plans they had decided upon. To show how unfounded were Newport's charges of cruelty and how little he himself had to fear from the Indians, he volunteered to go with four others and invite Powhatan to Jamestown to receive his presents. He travelled by land twelve miles and crossed York River in a canoe to Werowocomoco, where

he expected to find Powhatan. But he was thirty miles distant, and was immediately sent for. Pocahontas and her women did their utmost to entertain their guests.

As they were seated around the fire, they suddenly heard a hideous noise in the woods. The English, supposing that they were betrayed, seized upon two or three old men who sat near, as hostages for their safety. But Pocahontas came running up to them, and assured them that no harm was intended to them, and that, if any happened, she would willingly give up the lives of herself and her women to atone for it. Her assurances removed their suspicions, and enabled them to attend to the pageant, which was prepared for their entertainment. Thirty young women sallied from the woods, variously painted, clothed only with a girdle of leaves, and ornamented with sundry devices. The writer of the narrative describes their dance, in the following rather ungallant terms; "These fiends with most hellish shouts and cries, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with most excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernal passions, and solemnly again to sing and dance; having spent near an hour in this mascarado, as they entered, in like manner they departed." This dance was

followed by a feast, at which the good Captain was much annoyed by the officious caresses of the abovementioned masquerading damsels. The Englishmen were then conducted to their lodgings, with firebrands carried before them instead of torches.

The next day Powhatan arrived, and Captain Smith delivered to him his message, desiring him to come to Jamestown, to receive the presents from the hands of his father, Captain Newport, and concert with him plans for taking revenge upon his enemies the Monacans. The reply of the savage monarch is strikingly characteristic of his haughtiness, self-respect, and knowledge of human nature. "If your King," said he, "have sent me presents, I also am a King and this is my land; eight days I will stay to receive them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, neither will I bite at such a bait; as for the Monacans, I can revenge my own injuries; for any salt water beyond the mountains, the relations you have had from my people are false." At the same time, he drew upon the ground a rude chart of the countries of which he spoke. After some complimentary discourses, Captain Smith took leave of him, and carried his answer to Jamestown.

Whereupon the presents were sent round by water, and Captains Smith and Newport went across by land, with a guard of fifty armed men. All having met at Werowocomoco, the next day was appointed for Powhatan's coronation. Then his presents were brought to him, and the bason, ewer, bed, and furniture were set up. His scarlet cloak and suit were put on, but not until he had been persuaded by Namontack (the Indian youth whom he had formerly presented to Newport, and who had been to England with him), that there was nothing dangerous in them. They had great trouble in inducing him to kneel in order to receive his crown. He understood nothing of the "majesty or meaning" (as the narrative has it) of a crown, nor of the ceremony of bending the knee; which obliged them to use so many arguments and so much persuasion, that their patience was entirely worn out. They succeeded at last in making him stoop a little by leaning hard upon his shoulders; and, as soon as the crown was put upon his head, a volley was fired from the boats, at which he started up in great affright, till he was informed what it meant. What would this sylvan monarch have said, if he had witnessed the cumbrous splendor of a modern coronation?

By way of making a proper acknowledgment

of the honors which had been shown to him, he generously presented Captain Newport with his mantle and old shoes. He endeavored to dissuade the English from their wild scheme of exploring the inland country, and refused to give them men or guides for that object, except Namontack. After many civil speeches had been exchanged, he gave Newport a heap of ears of corn containing seven or eight bushels, and about as much more was purchased in the village, with which they returned to Jamestown.

Immediately after this, Captain Newport set out upon his expedition of discovery, with a hundred and twenty chosen men, leaving Captain Smith at Jamestown with eighty or ninety weak and sickly ones, to load the ship. The enterprise proved a total failure, and its history may be told in a very few words. They proceeded in their boat to the Falls of James River, and then went by land about forty miles, through a fertile and well-watered country. They discovered two villages of the Monacans on the south side of the river, the inhabitants of which used them neither well nor ill, but, by way of security, they took one of their petty chiefs and led him bound in order to guide them. A journey of two days and a half sufficed to cool their spirit of adventure and to

weary their delicate limbs so much, that they turned about and resumed their march homeward, taking with them some quantity of a certain earth, from which their refiner pretended to have extracted silver. They arrived at Jamestown "half sick, all complaining, and tired with toil, famine, and discontent;" having gained nothing but experience. Every thing had turned out exactly as Captain Smith had foretold, which, of course, sharpened the sting of disappointment.

Captain Smith, who would allow no man to be idle, immediately set them all at work; some n making glass; others tar, pitch, and potash. These he left under the care of the council at Jamestown, and he himself took thirty men about five miles down the river, and employed them in cutting timber and making clapboards. Among these were several young gentlemen, who had not been used to felling trees and sleeping on the ground; but, as there was something exciting in the employment, and their President shared all their toils and hardships, they soon became reconciled to their situation, "making it their delight to hear the trees thunder as they fell." But the axe frequently blistered their tender fingers, so that "many times every third blow had a loud oath to drown the echo." To correct this evil habit, the President contrived an ingenious and effectual remedy, which operated without any loss

of good humor on the part of the offenders. He had a register kept of the number of oaths every man uttered in the course of the day, and at night, he ordered the same number of cans of water to be poured down his sleeve. The consequence was, that there was hardly an oath to be heard in a week. The writer of the narrative says, that though these thirty gentlemen, who worked with spirit and from choice, would accomplish more than a hundred who must be driven to it, yet twenty good stout workmen would do more than all.

Captain Smith, on his return to Jamestown, finding that much time had been unprofitably spent, and that their provisions were running low, resolved to go in search of corn among the Indians. He went up the river Chickahominy, in two barges with eighteen men, leaving orders for Lieutenant Percy to follow him. He found the Indians surly and disobliging, who, though they knew his wants, refused to trade, with many contemptuous expressions. Immediately changing his tone, and appearing no longer in the attitude of a petitioner for food, he told them that his purpose was to avenge his own imprisonment, and the death of his countrymen whom they had slain. He then landed his men and drew them up in military order. This spirited conduct produced a sudden change of opinion in the Indians, who

sent ambassadors to make their peace, with presents of corn, fish, and wildfowl. They told him that their harvest had not been abundant that year, and that they had hardly enough to supply their own wants; but they furnished him with two hundred bushels of corn, which was a most welcome gift to the colony.

Captain Smith's enemies seem to have turned his most praiseworthy and successful efforts into accusations; for we read, "that though this much contented the company, (that feared nothing more than starving,) yet some so envied his good success, that they rather desired to hazard a starving, than his pains should prove so much more effectual than theirs." A plot was even formed by Newport and Ratcliffe to depose him, because, being President, he had left his place and the fort without their consent; but "their horns were so much too short to effect it, as they themselves more narrowly escaped a greater mischief."

While the ship remained, a brisk trade was carried on between the sailors and the Indians, to the great gain of the former, but to the prejudice of the colony. They would even pilfer articles from the public stores in order to exchange them for furs and other valuable commodities. And these very men, after having enriched themselves in this manner at the expense of the colonists, would grossly misrepresent them to the council in England, and

report that they had great abundance of every thing; so that they took no pains to supply them with stores, and would send over crowds of hungry adventurers to eat up their hard-earned substance. Captain Smith was so provoked with Newport's conduct, that he threatened to send the ship home without him and detain him a year in the colony, that he might have the benefit of a full experience of their sufferings; but, upon his making proper submission, he consented to let him go. He carried with him, in his ship, specimens of pitch, tar, frankincense, potash, clapboards, and wainscot, also a quantity of *pocones*, a red root used in dyeing.

The council in England had not been satisfied with the proceedings of the colony. They had listened to misrepresentations and calumnies from interested or offended individuals, and had taken little pains themselves to ascertain the true state of affairs. They were disappointed in not receiving any gold and silver from Virginia; and under the influence of these irritated feelings, and probably instigated by Newport, they had written by him an angry letter to Captain Smith. They complained of the vain hopes with which they had been entertained, and the disappointments in which these had ended; they reproved the colonists for their dissensions, and spoke of a project for dividing the country, about which the former President had written

a letter to the Earl of Salisbury; and threatened them, that, unless the expenses of the present voyage, amounting to two thousand pounds, were defrayed by the ship's return, the colony would be deserted and left to shift for themselves.

To this tirade, Captain Smith sent a reply by Newport, combining the dignity proper to his office with a soldier-like frankness and spirit. He denies indignantly the charge of awakening hopes which had never been realized; and, as to the plot for dividing the country, he says he never heard nor dreamed of such a thing. He says, that their directions sent by Newport had all been strictly followed, though he was opposed to them himself, and that all had been taught by experience to confess that he was right. For the two thousand pounds, which the voyage had cost, the colony had not received the benefit of a hundred. He tells them of the great preparations, which Newport had made for his expedition, and its utter failure; and says, "As for the quartered boat to be borne by the soldiers over the Falls, if he had burnt her to ashes, one might have carried her in a bag; but, as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the Falls." He takes them to task for their folly in sending the Germans to make pitch, tar, and glass; and in his remarks shows great good sense, and even considerable knowledge of political economy. He tells them, that they could buy, in a

single week, as great a quantity of these articles as would freight a ship, in Russia or Sweden, countries peculiarly adapted by nature to the manufacture of them; but that it was most impolitic and unprofitable to devote to such occupations any part of the energies of a young colony, in which they all had as much as they could do to provide subsistence and defend themselves against the Indians.

He complains of Newport, of his vain projects, and his indolence, and contrasts the luxury and plenty, in which he and his sailors lived, with the coarse and scanty fare of the colonists. He says, that Archer and Ratcliffe were the authors of all their factions and disturbances; and that the latter is an impostor, whose real name is Sicklemore; and he sends him home to save his throat from being cut by the colonists, by whom he is detested. He entreats them to send out carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, and masons, thirty of whom would be worth more than a thousand idle gentlemen, and to provide for their support and subsistence for the present, and leave all projects of gain for the future. At the same time, he sent them two barrels of stones, which he conjectured to be iron ore, with labels, designating the places in which he found them. To convince them that he could make as ample a discovery as Newport, and at a less expense

than he had incurred at every meal, he transmitted to them a map of Chesapeake Bay and its rivers, which he had explored, together with a description of the same.*

CHAPTER IX.

Difficulties in Procuring Provision. — Captain Smith's Unsuccessful Attempt to obtain Possession of Powhatan's Person.

UPON the departure of the ship, the colonists began to be in apprehension that they should

* This was sent by Captain Nelson, who left Jamestown early in June, 1608, and it contains a narrative of events up to that date. It was printed the same year in London, and does not differ materially from the accounts subsequently published in the *History*. The original pamphlet is rare and curious, being in black letter and of the quarto size. There is a copy of it in the Library of Harvard College, but the title-page is wanting. In Mr. Rich's *Catalogue of American Books*, the title is printed as follows: "True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate, as hath happened in Virginia since the Planting of the Colony." There is also a copy of the same work in Colonel Aspinwall's invaluable collection of books relating to America. It was written in the form of a letter and addressed to an individual; probably to the Secretary of the London Company.

suffer from want of food, their supply being but scanty. In order to obtain corn, Captain Smith, with Captain Wynne and Mr. Scrivener, set out for Nansamond, where, upon his arrival, the Indians not only refused to give him the four hundred bushels, which they had promised, but would not trade with him at all; saying that their stock was almost consumed, and that they had been commanded by Powhatan to keep what was left, and not permit the English to enter their river. Captain Smith, finding that persuasion did no good, was constrained to employ force. At the first discharge of the muskets, the Indians fled without shooting an arrow. The English marched towards their houses, and set fire to the first one they came to. Upon the sight of the flames, the Indians came forward and offered to give them half the corn they had, if they would desist from further violence.

They loaded the three boats, with which the English returned to their place of encampment, four miles down the river. This was an open plain, sheltered by a hill, and at that time the ground was frozen hard and covered with snow. They were accustomed to dig away the snow, and make a large fire; and, when the ground was thoroughly warmed, they could remove the fire and ashes, spread their mats upon the spot

and lie down, using another mat as a screen against the wind. When the ground grew cold, they shifted their fire again. Many cold winter nights they passed in this manner; and those, who were thus exposed to the elements in these expeditions, were always stouter and healthier than those, who remained at home and slept in warm beds.

Soon after their return to Jamestown, the first marriage which took place in Virginia, was celebrated between John Laydon and Anne Burras.

Captain Smith, indefatigable in securing the settlers against even the apprehension of want, remained but a short time at Jamestown, but, accompanied by Captain Waldo, went up the bay in two barges. The Indians, on all sides, fled at the sight of them, till they discovered the river and people of Appomatox. These had but little corn; but that little they divided with the English, and received in exchange bits of copper and other trifles, with which they were well contented.

The supplies procured in this manner were, however, temporary and precarious; and Captain Smith, who was determined that no one should be in fear of starvation, while he was President, resolved upon the bold and questionable measure of surprising Powhatan, and taking possession of

all his store. In this project he was seconded by Captain Waldo, but opposed by Captain Wynne and Mr. Scrivener, which latter gentleman had become an enemy to him. As if to favor his purposes, he was requested by Powhatan to come and see him, with a promise, that he would load his ship with corn, if Smith would build him a house, give him a grindstone, fifty swords, some muskets, a cock and a hen, and a large quantity of beads and copper. Captain Smith determined to improve the opportunity thus fortunately presented, although he suspected that the crafty old savage had some ulterior design in his specious offers. He accordingly sent two Englishmen and four Germans to build him a house, giving them instructions as to their conduct, and unluckily informing them of his plans. He soon after set out himself in the bark and two barges, accompanied by Captain Waldo and forty-six men. As this was an enterprise of great danger, he took with him only those who volunteered to go. He left the government in the hands of Mr. Scrivener.

On the 29th of December they departed from Jamestown, carrying with them provisions for only three or four days. They lodged that night at Warraskoyac, an Indian village, a few miles from Jamestown, where they made additions to their stores.

The chief of the tribe treated them with great kindness, and endeavored to dissuade Captain Smith from going to see Powhatan; but, finding him resolved, he warned him to be on his guard, for that Powhatan, notwithstanding all his seeming kindness, had sent for them merely for the purpose of cutting their throats. The Captain thanked him for his caution, and requested him to furnish guides to the nation of the Chawonocs, who dwelt between the rivers Nottaway and Meherrin, in North Carolina, to which he readily consented. Mr. Michael Sicklemore, a valiant and honest soldier, was sent upon this enterprise, the object of which was to obtain silk-grass and to inquire after Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony.

The next night they lodged at Kecoughtan (Hampton), where they were detained several days by violent storms. This obliged them to keep their Christmas among the Indians.* But we are told that they had a very merry one, warmed by blazing fires, and their tables amply spread with fish, flesh, oysters, and wildfowl. After various accidents, they arrived on the 12th

* The narrative states, that they left Jamestown on the 29th of December, and yet that they afterwards kept Christmas among the savages. Of course, both statements cannot be correct. The matter is fortunately of little consequence, as there are no means of ascertaining which is right.

of January at Werowocomoco, where they found the river frozen to nearly half a mile from the shore. They broke the ice to make a passage for the barge, till she was grounded by the ebbing of the tide, when they leaped out and waded to the shore through the ice and mud.

They quartered in the first cabins which they found, and sent for provisions to Powhatan, who supplied them with bread, turkeys, and venison. The next day, after having given them an entertainment, he very inhospitably inquired of them when they purposed to go away, saying, that he had never invited them to come, and that neither he nor his people had any corn to spare. Captain Smith then confronted him with the men who had brought his invitation, and quietly asked him how he came to be so forgetful; "thereat the King concluded the matter with a merry laugh," and asked for his commodities. Nothing suited him, however, but guns and swords, and he valued a basket of corn at a higher rate than a basket of copper. Captain Smith, perceiving that the wily savage was trifling with him, said to him with some sternness, that he had confidently relied upon his promises to supply the colony with provisions, and had neglected to procure any from other sources, which he might have done; and, to testify his regard to him, he had sent mechanics to construct buildings for him, while his

own were standing unfinished. He charged him with having monopolized his people's corn and forbidden them to trade with the English, in hopes, by starvation, to bring them to his own terms. As to guns and swords, he had none to spare, as he had told him long before; but they would contrive to keep from starving by the aid of those which they had, though they would do him no wrong nor violence, nor break the friendship which existed between them, unless constrained to do so by ill usage.

Powhatan listened attentively to this discourse, and promised that both he and his people would supply the English with as much corn as could be spared, and that they should receive it within two days. "But," he added, "I have some doubts about the reason of your coming here. I am informed by many, that you come, not to trade, but to invade my people, and to possess my country. This makes me less ready to relieve you, and frightens my people from bringing in their corn. 'And therefore to ease them of that fear, leave your arms aboard, since they are needless here, where we are all friends.'"

Powhatan's doubts were very reasonable, and his wary conduct perfectly justifiable; for Smith's whole plot had been revealed to him by the Germans, who had been sent to build a house for him. These men, seeing Powhatan's wealth and

plenty, and the wretched condition of the colony, and supposing that he must finally extirpate them, had, in order to secure his favor, basely betrayed the purposes of the English. Their treachery was the more odious, because one of them had been honored with particular marks of confidence by Captain Smith on account of his intelligence and supposed integrity, and had been sent on this errand to act as a spy upon Powhatan. Captain Smith was entirely unsuspecting of the fact at the time, and did not hear of it till six months afterwards; so it is easy to see what an advantage the savage monarch had over him, which he did not fail to improve to the utmost.

A contest of ingenuity ensued between Captain Smith and Powhatan, reminding us of the efforts of two skilful boxers, to find an opening to plant the first blow. The savage chieftain was very anxious that the English should lay aside their arms, of which he and his people had a most wholesome terror; and he made use of arguments of the following tenor. "Captain Smith," said he, "I am a very old man, having seen the death of three of the generations of my people, and know well the difference between peace and war. I must soon die, and my brothers must succeed me. I wish to live quietly with you, and I wish the same for them. But the rumors, which have reached us, disturb us, and alarm my

people so that they dare not visit you. What advantage will it be to you to destroy us, who supply you with food? What can you gain by war, if we escape to the woods and hide our provisions there? Why are you so suspicious of us? You see we are unarmed, and are ready to supply your wants. Do you think I am so simple as not to prefer eating good meat, sleeping quietly with my wives and children, laughing and making merry with you, having copper, hatches, and every thing else, as your friend, to flying from you, as your enemy, lying cold in the woods, living upon acorns, roots, and such trash, being so hunted by you that we can neither rest, eat, nor sleep in peace, but if a twig break, my men will cry out, 'Here comes Captain Smith'? In this miserable manner, I must come to a miserable end, and you likewise, sooner or later. Be assured of our friendship then, and we will readily and abundantly supply you with corn. Lay aside your guns and swords, and do not come armed as into an enemy's country."

To these sentimental speeches Captain Smith replied after the following fashion. "As you will not understand our words, we must make our deeds speak for us. We have scrupulously adhered to the terms of the treaty of peace concluded between us, which your men have constantly violated; and, though we have had ample

opportunities for avenging ourselves, we have refrained out of our regard to you. And you know enough of us to know, that, if we had intended you any injury, we could long ago have succeeded in doing it. It is our custom to wear arms in the same manner as clothes, and we can by no means part with them. Your people come frequently to Jamestown with bows and arrows, and are entertained without suspicion or remark. 'As to your flying into the woods and hiding your provisions out of our reach, you need not think that will trouble us. We have a way of discovering hidden things, unknown to you."

Many other discourses, of the same tenor, passed between them. Powhatan, seeing that his wishes were not received as law by the English, and that they would not lay aside their arms or omit any of their usual precautions, gave utterance to these sentiments, with a heavy sigh. "Captain Smith, I have never treated any chief with so much kindness as I have you; but I have never in return received any at your hands. Captain Newport gave me swords, copper, clothes, and every thing else I desired, taking, in exchange, whatever I offered him. He would at any time send away his guns at my request. No one refuses to gratify my wishes, but you. You will give me nothing, to which you attach

any value; and yet you insist upon having every thing from me, which you desire. You call Captain Newport father, and so you do me; but I see, in spite of us both, you will have your own way, and we must study to please you. If your intentions are as friendly as you profess them to be, send away your arms, and I will believe you."

Captain Smith, seeing that Powhatan was merely wasting the time in idle speeches, in order to gain an opportunity to attack them and put them to death, resolved to strike a decisive blow. He gave directions to the Indians to break a passage through the ice, that his boat might come to the shore, and ordered some more of his men to land, to aid him in surprising Powhatan. In order to keep him free from suspicion, till the proper hour came, he entertained him with "much specious and fallacious discourse,"* telling him, that he was his friend and not his subject, and promising the next day to give up his arms, and to show him, that he honored him as a father, by trusting implicitly to his words. The wily chieftain, when he heard that they were breaking a passage through the ice, suspected that all was not right, and suddenly fled with his women, children, and luggage. To avoid suspicion, he left two or three

* Stith, p. 88.

women to talk with Captain Smith, while he secretly made his escape; and in the mean time his warriors beset the house, in which they were conversing. When this was told to Captain Smith, he boldly sallied out armed with sword, pistol, and target, with which, as we are told, "he made such a passage among these naked devils, that, at his first shot, they next him tumbled one over another, and the rest quickly fled, some one way, some another." He reached the main body of his men without any injury.

The Indians, seeing that he had escaped unharmed and was guarded by eighteen resolute, well-armed men, endeavored to put a fair construction upon their unequivocal doings; and Powhatan, to excuse his flight and the sudden gathering of his warriors, sent an "ancient orator," who, like more civilized diplomatists, sought to gain a favorable hearing by a present of a great bracelet and a chain of pearls, and addressed Captain Smith, as follows: "Captain Smith, our king is fled, fearing your guns, and knowing, that, when the ice was broken, more men would come. He sent the warriors, whom you assaulted, to guard your corn, which might be stolen without your knowledge. Though some have been injured in consequence of your mistake, Powhatan is still your friend and will ever continue so. Now, since the ice is broken, he would have you send away your

corn; and, if you would have his company, your guns also, which so affright his people, that they dare not come to you, as he has promised they should." The corn referred to in the Indian ambassador's speech consisted of a quantity amounting to eighty bushels, which had been purchased of Powhatan for a copper kettle.

The English were immediately oppressed with attentions. Baskets were provided for them to carry the corn to the boat, and the Indians kindly offered their services to guard their arms, that none might steal them. This favor was, with suitable acknowledgments, declined. To show the dread which they had of fire-arms, we are told, that "a great many they were of goodly, well proportioned fellows, as grim as devils; yet the very sight of cocking our matches and being to let fly, a few words caused them to leave their bows and arrows to our guard, and bear down our corn upon their backs; we needed not importune them to make despatch." The English were under the necessity of waiting for the next tide before they could depart, and the day was spent in feasting and merry sports.

Powhatan, who burned to get possession of Smith's head, had prepared his forces to make an attack upon the English at night, which would probably have been fatal to them all, had they not been warned of it by Pocahontas, on this, as on all

occasions, the guardian angel of the whites. It is better to relate the incident in the unvarnished language of the original narrative, than to ornament it with any rhetorical embellishments of my own. After mentioning that a plot had been formed by Powhatan, it states that, "Notwithstanding, the eternal, all-seeing God did prevent him, and by a strange means. For Pocahontas, his dearest jewel and daughter, in that dark night, came through the irksome woods, and told our Captain great cheer should be sent us by and by; but Powhatan, and all the power he could make, would after come kill us all, if they that brought it could not kill us with our own weapons, when we were at supper. Therefore, if we would live, she wished us presently to be gone. Such things as she delighted in he would have given her; but, with the tears running down her cheeks, she said she durst not to be seen to have any; for, if Powhatan should know it, she were but dead; and so she ran away by herself, as she came." This simple and beautiful picture of disinterested attachment and heroic self-forgetfulness needs not the "foreign aid of ornament" to recommend it to the heart, which has a throb left for generous deeds and noble qualities.

Pocahontas had been gone less than an hour, when there came eight or ten stout fellows, with large platters of venison and other articles of food,

who invited them to sit down and eat, and were very importunate for them to put out their matches, the smoke of which, as they said, made them sick. But Captain Smith made them taste of every dish (probably to ascertain whether it was poisoned or not), and sent some of them back to Powhatan, bidding him make haste, for he was ready to receive him, telling him that he knew upon what deadly errand his first messengers were sent, but that he could guard against that as well as all his other intended villanies. Messengers came from Powhatan from time to time, to learn the position of things; but the English passed the night in such watchful preparation, that no blow was struck. They departed at high water, and left behind them the Germans, whose good faith was entirely unsuspected, and (what seems a little strange, after these events) one of their own number, Edward Brynton by name, to kill birds for Powhatan.

The conduct of Captain Smith in attempting to seize the person of Powhatan cannot be justified, and no one can feel sorry that he did not succeed. The principle of gratitude should alone have prevented him from dealing so treacherously with a man who had spared his life, when he had him in his power. His only excuse is to be found in the strong necessity of the case, of the extent of which, however, we have no means

of forming a conception. The opinions of the age, in all that relates to the rights of men and nations, were characterized, not even by a nice sense of honor, much less by a feeling of Christian brotherhood. The manner in which his conspiracy was betrayed to Powhatan, enforces the lesson taught by all the great plots and intrigues of the world, that he who aims at treacherous designs is never sure of his instruments. When a man has once consented to become a spy and act a borrowed part, it is easy for him to go a step further and betray his employer by a double treachery. He, who has once deserted the path of moral rectitude, has never a firm footing, and is continually liable to slide into deeper and more inextricable guilt.

CHAPTER X.

Captain Smith's Adventures with Opechanca-nough, Chief of Pamunkey.—His Return to Jamestown.

No sooner had the English set sail, than Powhatan sent two of the Germans to Jamestown. These imposed upon Captain Wynne with a

plausible story, that every thing was going on well, and that Captain Smith had need of some weapons, ammunition, and clothing, all of which were unsuspectingly delivered to them. While they were there, by their artful speeches and by working upon the hopes of the selfish and the fears of the timid, they prevailed upon six or seven to leave the colony and join them with Powhatan.

These apostates, among their other accomplishments, had a peculiar dexterity in stealing, which they exerted so successfully, that they filched from the colonists a great number of swords, pike-heads, and muskets, with large quantities of powder and shot. There were always Indians prowling around in the neighborhood to carry them off. By these means, and by the labors of one of the Germans, who had remained behind and who seems to have been a blacksmith, the armory of Powhatan was very materially increased.

Captain Smith and his party in the mean while had arrived at Pamunkey, the seat of Opechancanough, the brother of Powhatan, who received them kindly and entertained them many days in his most hospitable style. A day was appointed for traffic, upon which Captain Smith with fifteen others went up to the village where the chief resided, about a quarter of a mile from the river. They found no human being there, except a lame man and a boy, and the houses were aban-

done and stripped of every thing. Soon, however, the chief arrived with many warriors, armed with bows and arrows; but their commodities were so trifling and offered at so exorbitant a price, that Captain Smith remonstrated with him in the following manner: "Opechancanough, you profess, with your words, great love to me, but your actions are inconsistent with your professions. Last year, you kindly freighted our ship, but now you have invited us here that you might see us starve with hunger. You know my wants and I know your plenty, of which I will, by some means, have a share. Remember that it becomes kings to keep their promises. I offer you my goods; you may take your choice, and the rest I will apportion justly among your people." The chieftain accepted his offer seemingly with a good grace, persuaded, probably, more by the muskets, than by the intrinsic force of the suggestions themselves. He sold them what they wanted, at their own prices, promising the next day to meet them with more people and more commodities.

On the next day, Captain Smith and his party marched up to his house, where they found four or five Indians newly arrived, each furnished with a great basket. The chief himself soon after arrived, and with a "strained cheerfulness" magnified the pains he had been at in keeping his prom-

ise. While they were discoursing, Mr. Russell, one of the party, came suddenly in and with a face of alarm, told Captain Smith that they were all lost, for seven hundred armed men had environed the house and were swarming round about in the fields.

Captain Smith, seeing dismay painted in the countenances of his followers at these tidings, addressed to them a few words of encouragement. He told them that he felt far less concern at the number of the enemy than for the malicious misrepresentations, which the council would make in England, of his readiness to break the peace and expose their lives; that they had nothing to fear, for that he alone had been once assaulted by three hundred, and but for an accident, would have made good his way through them; that they were sixteen in number, and the Indians not more than seven hundred, and that the very smoke of their pieces would be enough to disperse them. At any rate, he exhorted them to fight like men, and not tamely die like sheep; and if they would resolutely follow his example, he doubted not that he should be able, with the blessing of God, to extricate them from their present perilous situation.

They all resolutely promised to second him in whatever he attempted, though it should cost them their lives. Whereupon he addressed Opechancanough to the following effect: "I see that you

have entered into a plot to murder me, but I have no fears as to the result. Let us decide the matter by single combat. The island in the river is a fit place, and you may have any weapons you please. Let your men bring each a basket of corn and I will stake their value in copper, and the conqueror shall have all and be ruler over all our men."

This proposal was declined by the chief, who had no chivalrous notions of honor, and could not conceive of any one's voluntarily giving up any advantage, which he could gain by treachery or other means over an enemy. He artfully endeavored to quiet Smith's suspicions, and invited him outside of the door to receive a present, where he had stationed two hundred men, with their arrows on the string, ready to shoot at him the moment he appeared. Captain Smith, who had discovered, or at least strongly suspected his perfidious purpose, no longer restrained his indignation, but seizing him by his long lock of hair, and clapping his pistol to his breast, led him out trembling into the midst of his people. They were petrified with horror, that any one should dare to lay violent hands on the sacred person of their chief, and were amazingly frightened besides. He readily gave up his vambrace,* bow,

* Vambrace, armor for the arm. *Avant-bras*, Fr.
—*Bailey*.

and arrows in token of submission, and his subjects followed his example.

Captain Smith, still retaining his grasp upon him, addressed his subjects as follows: "I perceive, ye Pamunkeys, the desire you have to kill me, and that my long suffering has brought you to this pitch of insolence. The reason I have forborne to punish you is the promise which I formerly made to you, that I would be your friend till you gave me just cause to be your enemy. If I keep this vow, my God will help me and you cannot hurt me; but if I break it, he will destroy me. But if you now shoot one arrow to shed a drop of blood, or steal any of these beads, or of this copper, I will take such a revenge, as that you shall not hear the last of me while there is a Pamunkey alive who will not deny the name. I am not now half-drowned in the mire of a swamp, as I was when you took me prisoner. If I be the mark you aim at, shoot, if you dare. You promised to load my vessel with corn, and if you do not, I will load her with your carcasses. But, if you will trade with me like friends, I once more promise that I will not trouble you, unless you provoke me, and your chief shall be my friend, and go free; for I did not come to hurt him or any of you."

This speech had an effect like magic. The savages threw down their bows and arrows, and

thronged round Captain Smith with their commodities, in such numbers, for the space of two or three hours, that he became absolutely weary of receiving them. He accordingly retired, and, overcome with his toils and excitements, fell asleep. The Indians seeing him in this condition, and his guard rather carelessly dispersed, went into the house in great numbers armed with clubs or English swords, and with intentions by no means friendly. The noise they made aroused him from his slumbers, which we may suppose were not very deep; and, though surprised and confused at seeing so many grim forms around him, he seized his sword and target, and, being seconded by some of his countrymen, drove out the intruders more rapidly than they came in. Opechancanough made a long speech to excuse the rude conduct of his subjects. The rest of the day was spent in kindness and good-will, the Indians renewing their presents and feasting the English with their best provisions.

Captain Smith here received the news of a most melancholy accident which took place at Jamestown during his absence. Mr. Scrivener had received some letters from England, which gave him extravagant notions of his own importance, and made him feel very coldly towards Captain Smith, who still regarded him with the affection of a brother. He took it into his head

to visit an island in the vicinity of Jamestown, called Hog Island, on a very cold and stormy day, when it seemed little short of madness to tempt the angry elements. Notwithstanding the most earnest remonstrances he persisted in going, and persuaded Captain Waldo with nine others to accompany him. The skiff would have hardly floated with so large a freight, in calm weather; but, as it was, she sunk immediately, and all who were in her were drowned. Their dead bodies were found by the Indians, which encouraged them in their projected enterprises against the colony.

No one, for some time, would undertake to inform Captain Smith of this heavy news, till finally Mr. Richard Wiffin volunteered. His journey was full of dangers and difficulties. He at first went to Werowocomoco, where he found that all were engaged in warlike preparations, which boded no good to his countrymen. He seems to have narrowly escaped with his life here; for we are told, that "Pocahontas hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the clean contrary way to seek him." He finally reached Captain Smith after travelling three days, and communicated his sad message to him; who charged him to keep it a secret from his followers, and, dissembling his grief as much as he could, at nightfall he went on board the boat, leaving Opechancanough

at liberty and unmolested according to his promise.

Captain Smith cherished a hope, that he might be able, on his return, to entrap Powhatan, an intention which he had never abandoned. Powhatan, on his part, had commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to kill Captain Smith by some means or other. The consequence was, that on their second meeting, as at their first, both parties were on their guard; and, though many strata-gems were practised on both sides, nothing decisive took place. Such a terror was Captain Smith to the Indians, that not even the commands of Powhatan could induce them to attack him in battle, notwithstanding their immense superiority in numbers; and they were ready to propitiate him by loads of provision, if they had any reasons to suspect hostile intentions on his part towards them. We are told, however, that they attempted to take his life by poison, a mode more characteristic of civilized malice, than of savage hatred. The particulars are not related; it is said that Captain Smith, Mr. West, and others were taken sick, and thus threw off from the stomach some poisonous substance which would have been fatal, had it been left to its natural operation. It was probably not prepared with great skill by these untutored chemists. No other notice was taken of the outrage, except that

the Indian who brought the poisoned articles was soundly beaten by Captain Smith's own hand, which, we have every reason to believe, was a very heavy one. He finally returned to Jamestown after an enterprise full of perils and difficulty, bringing with him two hundred pounds of deer suet, and four hundred and seventy-nine bushels of corn.

CHAPTER XI.

Troubles with the Indians.—Scarcity of Provisions.—Mutinous and Treacherous Disposition of Some of the Colonists.—Arrival of Captain Argall.

CAPTAIN SMITH, on his arrival, found as usual that nothing had been done during his absence. Their provisions had been much injured by the rain, and many of their tools and weapons had been stolen by or secretly conveyed to the Indians. The stock of food which remained, increased by that which had been procured from the Indians, was, however, found on computation to be sufficient to last them a year; and consequently their apprehensions of starving were

for the present laid aside. They were divided into companies of ten or fifteen, as occasion required, and six hours of each day were spent in labor and the rest in amusement and exhilarating exercises.

The majority of them, unaccustomed to discipline or regular employment, showed symptoms of stubborn resistance to his authority, which provoked him to reprove them in sharp terms. He told them, that their recent sufferings ought to have worked a change in their conduct, and that they must not think that either his labors or the purses of the adventurers would for ever maintain them in idleness. He did not mean that his reproaches should apply to all, for many deserved more honor and reward than they could ever receive; but the majority of them must be more industrious or starve. That it was not reasonable that the labors of thirty or forty honest and industrious men should be devoted to the support of a hundred and fifty idle loiterers, and that, therefore, whoever would not work must not eat. That they had often been screened in their disobedience to his commands by the authority of the council; but that now the power, in effect, rested wholly in him. That they were mistaken in their opinion, that his authority was but a shadow, and that he could not touch the lives of any without peril of his

own. That the letters patent would show them the contrary, which he would have read to them every week, and that they might be assured that every one, who deserved punishment, should receive it.

He also made a register, in which he recorded their merits and demerits, "to encourage the good, and with shame to spur on the rest to amendment;" a simple device, one would think, for those who had long left school, but which, owing probably to the President's great personal influence, proved of considerable efficacy. They missed from time to time powder, shot, arms, and tools, without knowing what had become of them, but found afterwards that they were secretly conveyed to the Germans, who were with Powhatan, by their countrymen and confederates at Jamestown. Four or five of these latter, according to a previous agreement, had deserted from Jamestown, a short time before, to join the former; but, meeting in the woods some of Captain Smith's party on their return, to avoid suspicion they came back. Their countrymen sent one of their number, disguised as an Indian, to learn the reason of their delay. He came as far as the glass-house, which was about a mile from Jamestown, and was the scene of all their plots and machinations, and their common place of rendezvous.

At the same time and near the same place, forty Indians were lying in ambush for Captain Smith. He was immediately informed of the German's arrival (how or by whom we are not told), and, taking twenty men, marched to the glass-house to apprehend him; but he had gone away before they came. He despatched his followers to intercept him, and returned alone to Jamestown, armed only with a sword, not suspecting any danger. In the woods he met the chief of the Pashiphays, a neighboring tribe of Indians, a tall and strong man, who at first attempted by artful persuasion to bring Captain Smith within reach of the ambuscade. Failing, however, in this, he attempted to shoot him with his bow, which Smith prevented by suddenly grappling with him. Neither was able to make use of his weapons, but the Indian drew his adversary by main strength into the river, in the hope of drowning him. There they struggled for a long time, till Captain Smith seized his antagonist's throat with such a grasp as nearly strangled him. This momentary advantage enabled him to draw his sword, at which his foe no longer resisted, but begged his life with piteous entreaties. Captain Smith led him prisoner to Jamestown and put him in chains.

The German meanwhile had been taken; and, though he attempted to account for his conduct,

his treachery was suspected and finally confirmed by the confession of the captive chief, who was kept in custody, and offered to Powhatan in exchange for the faithless Germans whom he had with him. Many messengers were sent, but the Germans would not come of their own accord, neither would Powhatan force them. While these negotiations were going on, the chief himself escaped through the negligence of his guards, though he was in irons. An attempt was made to retake him, but without effect. Captain Smith made prisoners of two Indians, by name Kemps and Tussore, who are described as being "the two most exact villains in all the country." He himself went with an expedition to punish the tribe of Pashiphays for their past injuries and deter them from any future ones, in which he slew several of them, burned their houses, took their canoes and fishing-weirs, and fixed some of the latter at Jamestown.

As he was proceeding to Chickahominy, he was assaulted by some of their tribe; but, as soon as they saw who he was, they threw down their arms and sued for peace, a young man, named Okaning, thus addressing him; "Captain Smith, the chief, my master, is here among us, and he attacked you, mistaking you for Captain Wynne, who has pursued us in war. If he has offended you in escaping imprisonment, remem-

that fishes swim, the birds fly, and the very beasts strive to escape the snare and the line ; blame not him, therefore, who is a man. He would ask you to recollect what pains he took, when you were a prisoner, to save your life. If he has injured you since, you have taken ample vengeance and greatly to our cost. We know that your purpose is to destroy us ; but we are here to desire your friendship, and to ask you to permit us to enjoy our houses and plant our fields. You shall share in their fruit ; but if you drive us off, you will be the greatest losers by our absence. For we can plant anywhere, though it may cost us more labor ; but we know you cannot live, unless you have our harvests to supply your wants. If you will promise us peace, we will trust you ; if not, we will abandon the country."

This "worthy discourse," as it is justly called by the writer of the narrative, had its desired effect. Captain Smith made peace with them on condition that they would supply him with provisions. This good understanding continued so long as Captain Smith remained in the country.

When Smith returned to Jamestown, complaint was made to him, that the people of Chickahominy, who had always seemed honest and friendly, had been guilty of frequent thefts. A pistol, among other things, had been recently

stolen and the thief escaped ; but his two brothers, who were known to be his confederates, were apprehended. According to the President's usual summary mode of proceeding in such cases, one of these was sent home with a message, that if the pistol were not forthcoming in twelve hours, the other (who meanwhile was imprisoned) should be hung. The messenger came back before midnight with the pistol, but a sad spectacle awaited him. Captain Smith, pitying the poor naked Indian who was shivering in his dark, cold dungeon, had sent him some food and charcoal to make a fire with. The simple savage, knowing nothing of the mysteries of carbonic acid gas,* soon fainted away under its deleterious influence, and was brought out to all appearance dead. His brother, seeing his confident hopes so cruelly disappointed, broke out into the most passionate lamentations, and Captain Smith, to pacify him, told him that he would restore him to life. By the application of brandy and vinegar, he was restored to consciousness ; but his faculties remained in such a state of confusion and disorder, as alarmed his brother hardly less than his seeming death. But a night's sound sleep restored him to his senses, and they were both presented

* The English writer was not much wiser ; he says the Indian was smothered with the smoke.

with a piece of copper and sent home. From this circumstance, a report was spread far and wide, among the Indians, that Captain Smith was able to restore the dead to life.

Another incident took place about this time, which increased the awe in which the English were held. An "ingenuous savage" at Werowocomoco had by some means obtained possession of a bag of gunpowder and of the back-piece of a suit of armor. Wishing to display his superior accomplishments to his countrymen, he proceeded to dry the powder over the fire, upon the armor, as he had seen the soldiers do at Jamestown. Many thronged around him and peeped over his shoulders, to watch the process, when suddenly the powder exploded, killed the unfortunate operator and one or two others, and wounded several more, which gave the whole nation a great distaste to gunpowder. "These and many other such pretty accidents," as we are told, so amazed and alarmed Powhatan and his whole people, that they desired peace from all parts, bringing in presents and restoring stolen articles, which had long been given up in despair. After this, if any Indian was detected in stealing, he was apprehended and sent to Jamestown to be punished, and the whole country became as free and safe to the English as to the Indians themselves.

The English, thus unmolested from without, were enabled to devote their undivided energies to the internal affairs of the colony. They set themselves to labor with industry and success. In the space of three months, they had made a considerable quantity of tar, pitch, and potash ; produced a sample of glass ; dug a well of sweet water in the fort, an article which they had not had in abundance before ; built twenty new houses ; new covered the church ; provided nets and weirs for fishing ; and built a block-house on the isthmus of Jamestown, in which a garrison was stationed to trade with the Indians, and which no one was allowed to pass without an order from the President. Thirty or forty acres of ground were also dug and planted. A block-house was likewise erected on Hog Island, and a garrison stationed there to give notice of any vessels that might arrive. At leisure times they exercised themselves in cutting down trees and making clapboards and wainscoting. About this time Captain Wynne died, so that Captain Smith was left with the whole and absolute power, being both President and council.

Their prosperous and contented industry received a sudden interruption. On examining their store of corn, they found that half of it had rotted, and the rest was nearly all consumed by the rats which had been left by the ship, and in-

creased in great numbers. This put a stop to all their enterprises and obliged them to turn their whole attention to the procuring of food.

The Indians were very friendly to them, bringing in deer and wildfowl in abundance, and Powhatan spared them nearly half his stock of corn. The river also supplied them with sturgeon and oysters ; so there was no danger of their starving to death. But then food could not be procured without considerable toil and trouble ; and many of them were so intolerably lazy, that, as the narrative says, “ had they not been forced *nolens volens* perforce to gather and prepare their victual, they would all have starved or have eaten one another.” These men were very clamorous that he should sell their tools and iron, their swords and muskets, and even their houses and ordinance, to the Indians for corn, so that they might enjoy the luxury of idleness.

They endeavored also by all means in their power to induce him to leave the country. Necessity obliged Captain Smith to overlook for a time their mutinous and disorderly proceedings ; but, having detected and severely punished the principal ringleader, he addressed the remainder in the following terms. “ Fellow soldiers, I did not think that any one was so false as to report, or that you were so simple as to believe, either that I intended to starve you, or

that Powhatan had, at this time, any corn for himself, much less for you, or that I would not procure corn, if I knew where it was to be had. Neither did I think that any were so malicious, as I find many are ; but I will not so yield to indignation as to prevent me from doing what I can for the good of my most inveterate enemy. But dream no longer of any further assistance from Powhatan, and do not imagine that I shall not compel the indolent to work, as well as punish the refractory. If I find any one attempting to escape to Newfoundland in the pinnace, let him be assured that the gallows shall be his portion. You cannot deny that I have often saved your lives at the risk of my own, and provided you food when otherwise you might have starved. But I protest, by the God that made me, that since necessity has no power to compel you to gather for yourselves the fruits which the earth yields, I will oblige you to gather them, not only for yourselves, but also for the sick. You know that I have fared like the meanest of you, and that my extra allowance I have always distributed among the sick. The sick shall not starve, but shall fare like the rest of us ; therefore, whoever does not gather as much every day as I do, the next day he shall be put over the river and be banished from the fort, until he either alters his conduct or starves.'

These orders were murmured against as being extremely cruel and tyrannical; but no one dared to disobey them. All exerted themselves diligently to procure food, so that they not only did not suffer from want, but grew strong and healthy. Many were billeted among the Indians, a fact which showed how much confidence there was on one side, and how much respect, or at least fear, on the other. These last were so well treated by their kind entertainers, that many deserted from Jamestown and took up their abode with them; but the Indians, who knew that they had acted contrary to Captain Smith's orders, received them with great coldness, and finally brought them back to him. He inflicted on them such exemplary punishment, that no one ventured to follow their example. The good conduct of the Indians at this crisis extorts from the writer of the narrative the remark, that there was more hope to make good Christians and good subjects of them, than of one half of those who pretended to be both.

At this period, Mr. Sicklemore returned from his expedition, but without gaining any satisfactory account of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost company or of the silk-grass. Captain Smith, who thought it proper not to abandon a point so strongly urged by the council in England, sent upon the same errand two of his company to the

Mangoags ; a tribe of Indians, not subject to Powhatan, who dwelt somewhere on the borders of North Carolina and Virginia. They were furnished with guides by the chief of the Quiyoughnohanocs, a small tribe dwelling on the southern banks of the James River, about ten miles from Jamestown. " This honest, proper, promise-keeping king," as he is styled, was ever friendly to the English ; and, though he zealously worshipped his own false gods, he was ready to acknowledge that their God exceeded his, as much as guns did bows and arrows. He would often send presents to the President, in a time of drought, begging him to pray to his God for rain, lest his corn should spoil, because his own gods were angry with him. The result of this expedition was, like that of the former one, entirely unsuccessful.

The Germans, who were with Powhatan, gave them constant trouble. One Volday, a Swiss, was employed to solicit them to return to the colony ; but, instead of that, he basely and treacherously entered into a conspiracy with them to cut off the English, and diligently exerted himself to bring it to a successful issue. Seeing that these were obliged to wander about in search of provisions and leave the fort but feebly defended, they endeavored to prevail upon Powhatan to lend them his forces, promising to burn the town, to

seize the bark, and make the greater part of the colonists his subjects and slaves.

This plot was communicated to some of the malecontents at Jamestown; and two of them, "whose Christian hearts relented at such an unchristian act," revealed it to the President. When it became generally known in the colony, the sentiment of indignation was so lively, that several volunteered to go and slay the Germans, though in the very presence of Powhatan. Two were accordingly sent on this errand; but, on their arrival, the Germans made such plausible excuses, and accused Volday so warmly, that they were unaccountably suffered to go unpunished. Powhatan seems to have observed a strict neutrality in this business. He sent a message to Captain Smith, informing him that he would neither attempt to detain the Germans, nor to hinder his men from executing his commands. One of these Germans, we are told, afterwards returned to his duty, on promise of full pardon for the past; the other remained with Powhatan.

The writer of this portion of the History of Virginia, after relating these incidents, and stating that their great security against the treacherous machinations of these foreigners, and their unprincipled coadjutors at Jamestown, was the love and respect in which Captain Smith was held, by all the neighboring Indians, goes on to remark upon

his merits in a strain of honest admiration ; “ By this you may see, for all those crosses, treacheries, and dissensions, how he wrestled and overcame (without bloodshed) all that happened ; also what good was done ; how few died ; what food the country naturally affordeth ; what small cause there is men should starve or be murdered by the savages, that have discretion to manage them with courage and industry. The two first years, though by his adventures he had often brought the savages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authority ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endeavors. But it wrought in him that experience and estimation amongst the savages, as otherwise it had been impossible he had ever effected that he did. Notwithstanding the many miserable, yet generous and worthy adventures he had oft and long endured in the wide world, yet in this case he was again to learn his lecture by experience ; which with much ado having obtained, it was his ill chance to end, when he had but only learned how to begin.”

In the spring of the year 1609, Captain Samuel Argall, afterwards a governor of the colony, arrived at Jamestown. He came to trade with the colony and to fish for sturgeon, in a ship supplied with wine and provisions. This, says Stith, was a prohibited trade, but it was connived at, because Argall was a relation of Sir Thomas

Smith. The necessity of the colony obliged them to take his provisions, by which the object of his voyage was defeated; but as soon as they received supplies from England, they revictualled him home, with letters giving a full account of the state of their affairs. By him Captain Smith received letters, blaming him for his cruel usage of the Indians, and for not sending back the former ships freighted. By him they also heard of the great preparations in England for sending out an expedition, under the command of Lord Delaware, and of the entire change projected in the government of the colony.

CHAPTER XII.

New Charter granted to the Virginia Company. — Expedition despatched to Jamestown. — Confusion which ensues on its Arrival — Captain Smith returns to England.

THE administration of Captain Smith, and the general course of events from the first, at Jamestown, had been far from satisfactory to the company in England. They had founded the colony solely from selfish motives, in the hope of acquir

ing great and sudden fortunes by the opening of a passage to the South Sea, or by the discovery of abundant mines of gold and silver. The splendid success of the Spaniards in South America had filled the imaginations of all Europe with golden dreams ; and the company were disappointed and irritated, because there had not been found in Virginia the mineral treasures of Peru and Mexico. They chose to visit their displeasure upon the innocent head of Captain Smith, as if he had either been the cause of their extravagant hopes, or had, by some potent magic, banished the precious metals from the soil of Virginia.

Their prejudice against him was increased, undoubtedly, by their extreme ignorance of every thing relating to the history and situation of the colony, which disqualified them from judging of the propriety of his measures. Their minds too had been poisoned by the misrepresentations of Newport, who possessed their entire confidence, and who hated Captain Smith with that untiring and dogged hatred, with which an inferior being contemplates an enemy, who is too much above him to allow the most distant hope of rivalry. They were dissatisfied, among other things, with his treatment of the Indians, thinking it too harsh and peremptory, and that a milder and more conciliatory one would have induced them to discover the hidden treasures, which they were persuaded existed somewhere in the country.

Thomas Gates, lieutenant-general ; Sir George Somers, admiral ; Captain Newport (the only one who had ever been in Virginia), vice-admiral ; Sir Thomas Dale, high marshal ; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, master of the horse. The countenance of so many honorable and distinguished persons made the enterprise fashionable and popular, so that they were able to equip nine ships, in which five hundred persons consisting of men, women, and children, embarked.

The expedition set sail from England in May, 1609, under the command of Sir George Somers, Sir Thomas Gates, and Captain Newport, each of whom had a commission authorizing him, who first arrived, to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony by the terms and provisions of the new charter, until the arrival of Lord Delaware with the remainder of the recruits and supplies. By a most extraordinary oversight, no precedence in rank was assigned to either of these gentlemen, and they were unable to settle the point among themselves, neither being willing to resign his chance of being the temporary head.

To obviate this difficulty, they adopted a most injudicious and unfortunate expedient ; they all determined to embark in the same vessel, their weak and childish ambition inducing them to take a step which defeated the very object of

~~this~~ ~~triumvirate~~ division of authority. In their ship were contained also the bills of lading, the new commission, instructions and directions of the most ample nature, and the greater part of their provisions. This vessel, on the 25th of July, parted from the rest of the squadron in a violent storm, and was wrecked on one of the Bermuda Islands; another small vessel foundered at sea; the seven others arrived safely at Jamestown. The President, who was informed of their arrival by his scouts, and who had no expectation of so large a fleet, supposed them to be Spaniards coming to attack the colony, and with his usual promptness put it in a posture of defence. The Indians at this crisis gave the strongest proof of their good-will, by coming forward with the greatest alacrity, and offering to fight side by side with the English against their enemies.

These unfounded apprehensions were soon dissipated, but only to be replaced by substantial evils. With the seven ships came three individuals, of whom the reader has before heard, Ratcliffe (whose real name, as has been stated, was Sicklemore), Archer, and Martin, all of whom were enemies to Captain Smith, and had so prejudiced the minds of their companions against him, that they were prepared to dislike without ever having seen him. Their ships had

been greatly shattered in their stormy passage, their provisions were running low, many of them were sick, and they arrived at the season of the year most trying to the constitution. The greater part of the company, moreover, consisted of persons "much fitter," as Stith says, "to spoil or ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one." They consisted of dissipated young men, exiled by their friends to escape a worse destiny at home; bankrupt tradesmen; needy adventurers; gentlemen, lazy, poor, and proud; profligate hangers-on of great men, and the like.

A scene of wild confusion took place immediately upon their landing. They had brought no commission with them which could supersede the old one, and no one could, with legal propriety, supplant Captain Smith. The new comers, however, disdained to submit to his authority, prejudiced as they were against him, and looking with contempt upon the little band of colonists, whom they were sent to cast into the shade.

He, at first, allowed them to have every thing in their own way, and in consequence there was an entire end of all government, discipline, and subordination. The new comers, though having **neither** the authority nor the capacity, undertook to remodel the government. They con

ferred the chief power first on one and then on another; to-day, they administered the government according to the old commission; to-morrow, according to the new; and the next day, after a new fashion of their own. There was no consistency, no responsibility, and in fact no government; but instead of it a wild anarchy and misrule, to which nothing but chaos could furnish a parallel.

The sensible and judicious part of the community, both of the new comers and of the old settlers, perceived that this state of things, if long continued, would bring the colony to utter ruin, and, justly appreciating the distinguished merit of Captain Smith, entreated him to resume his abandoned authority, and save them from destruction, before it was too late. He was himself so disgusted with the new comers and their proceedings, that, had he consulted his own wishes alone, he would have abandoned the country and gone to England. But there was no alloy of selfishness in his nature. He felt for the colony, of which he was the soul and life-blood, the pride and affection which a parent feels for a favorite child. To its prosperity he was ever ready to sacrifice his private feelings, and he saw plainly, that the present system would end in its ruin.

He felt emboldened too by the conviction of the fact, that he was and had been its legal head, and that no one had any official authority for superseding him. He did not hesitate, therefore, to resume the station, which he had for a short time tacitly resigned, though in doing so he exposed himself to infinite vexations and no little actual danger from the secret and open opposition of his enemies. The most obstinate and refractory of them he cast into prison for safe keeping, until there was leisure for a fair and legal trial. It was thought expedient to divide their numbers, and accordingly Captain Martin was sent with a hundred and twenty men to Nansemond, and Captain West with the like number to the Falls of James River, each receiving a due proportion of provisions from the common stock.

Before these settlements were planted, Captain Smith, having established a regular government, and being near the end of the year of his presidency, resigned it in favor of Martin, who was the only person that could be chosen to the office. He had the good sense to perceive, that he was not qualified for so arduous a station, and, restoring it to Captain Smith in less than three hours, proceeded with his company to Nansemond. His experiment proved a total failure. The Indians were kindly disposed towards him,

till his injudicious conduct converted them into determined enemies. They made a successful attack upon him, killing many of his men, and carrying off a thousand bushels of his corn. He made a feeble resistance, and did not attempt to recover what he had lost, but sent to Jamestown for thirty soldiers to aid him. These were promptly despatched, but he made no use of them; and they soon returned of their own accord, disgusted with his cowardice and imbecility. Martin himself shortly followed them, leaving his company to take care of themselves.

Disasters also followed the settlement at the Falls. It was originally made in a place exposed to the inundations of the river and to other great inconveniences; and Captain West returned to Jamestown to obtain advice and assistance in the removal of it. Captain Smith immediately purchased of Powhatan the place called by his name, which was a short distance lower down the river, and went up to the Falls himself, to superintend their establishment in their new abode. But the mutinous and disorderly company, seeing him attended with only five men, refused to obey his orders, and, on his attempting to use force, resisted him and obliged him to take refuge on board his vessel, having narrowly escaped with his life.

He remained here nine days, in the hope that they would listen to reason and consult their own

interest in putting themselves under his guidance. But they obstinately refused to the last. The Indians, meanwhile, flocked around him with bitter complaints of the treatment they had received from the settlers, saying, that they had robbed their gardens, stolen their corn, beaten them, broken into their houses, and carried off some of their people and detained them prisoners. They offered to assist him in bringing them to subjection by the strong arm of power, and told him, that they had borne these insults and injuries from his countrymen out of respect to him ; but that he must forgive them if hereafter they defended themselves to the utmost of their ability, and repelled unprovoked aggressions by force.

Finding his efforts to be unavailing, Captain Smith departed ; but his vessel grounded, after she had proceeded about half a league, a very fortunate circumstance, as the result showed. For no sooner was his back turned, than some Indians, not more than twelve in number it is stated, burning for revenge, assaulted the settlers, and, killing several stragglers whom they found in the woods, struck such a panic into the rest, that they sent down in great alarm to Captain Smith, offering to accede to any terms that he would propose, if he would come and assist them. He returned, and, after punishing six or seven of the

chief offenders, removed the rest to Powhatan, a place every way adapted to their purposes, as it had been brought under cultivation by the Indians, who had also erected a strong fort there.

As soon as they were settled in their new habitation, Captain West returned and began to undo all that had been done. Captain Smith, unwilling to contend with him, opposed him in nothing, but left him to manage every thing in his own way. By his influence they were induced to return to their former situation, for what reason it is not stated.

Captain Smith met with a most unhappy accident as he was returning to Jamestown. While he was sleeping in the boat, a bag of powder lying near him exploded, and tore and burned his flesh in the most shocking manner. His clothes being on fire, he leaped overboard to quench the flames, and was with difficulty rescued from drowning. In this sad condition he arrived at Jamestown, where things were in such a state as to require all his faculties of mind and body. The time set for the trial of Ratcliffe, Archer, and the others who had been imprisoned, drew near, and their guilty consciences made them shrink from an inquiry, about the result of which they could entertain no doubt. Seeing too the helpless state of the President, they entered into a plot to murder him in his bed; but the heart of the base

wretch, who was chosen to be the instrument of their wickedness, failed him at the last moment, and he had not the courage to fire his murderous pistol. Having failed in this, they endeavored to usurp the government and thereby escape punishment. Fevered and tormented by his wounds, Captain Smith became weary of this perpetual struggle against the violence and malice of his enemies, and of supporting his rightful authority by force and severity; and he now determined to return to England, though his old friends, indignant at the treatment he had received, offered and indeed entreated to be allowed to bring him the heads of his foes. But he would not permit the colony to be embroiled in a civil war on his account. His wounds also grew very dangerous, from the want of surgical aid; and he believed that he could never recover, unless he went home as soon as possible to be cured there. He therefore, in the early part of the autumn of 1609, departed from Virginia never to return to it again. He left behind him four hundred and ninety colonists, one hundred of whom were trained and expert soldiers, three ships, seven boats, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, three hundred muskets and other arms, abundance of ammunition and tools, wearing apparel sufficient for all their wants, and an ample stock of domestic animals and provisions

CHAPTER XIII.

*Remarks on Captain Smith's Administration
in Virginia.*

CAPTAIN SMITH resided a little more than two years in Virginia; during one of which he was President of the colony. The reader, who has gone thus far with me, will be enabled to form a conception of what he accomplished, and the disadvantages against which he contended. It is difficult for those who have been reared on the lap of civilization, and had wants created by the facilities of gratifying them, to have a full sense of the labors and sufferings of the first settlers of a new country. Familiar with the luxuries of artificial life, they are thrown into a situation where animal existence can hardly be supported. Severe and unremitted toil wears down the frame and depresses the mind. Famine often lays siege to them, and new and strange diseases prostrate their strength. A vague sense of apprehension ever darkens their lot, and not a leaf stirs, but makes them start with the expectation of encountering some great and unknown danger.

The bright hopes, with which they began their enterprise, are apt to languish and die; and their hearts faint under the influence of that homesick-

ness, for which there is no medicine but a draught of the air of one's native land. To be the successful leader of a band of new settlers under the most favorable circumstances, requires an extraordinary combination of powers. He must be able to use his hands as well as his head, to act as well as to command, to show how things are to be done as well as to give directions to do them. He must be able to awe the refractory, to encourage the distrustful, and to cheer up the drooping. He must have courage, fortitude, self-command, and perseverance; he must be just yet not stern, dignified, yet affable and easy of approach.

The Virginia colony, and its head in particular, had trials and perils of a peculiar nature to encounter, in addition to those which they might naturally have expected. In the first place, they were surrounded by numerous and powerful tribes of Indians, whose occupation was war, and who were organized into a powerful confederacy under a ruler of extraordinary resources, the idol of his people, full of courage and enterprise, rivalling in dissimulation the most accomplished European diplomatist; and, if not the implacable enemy of the whites, he has been represented as being still very far from their friend, and, with a prophetic spirit, apparently realizing from the first, that their permanent residence and increase would involve the ruin of his own people.

As we have seen, too, Captain Smith had much to contend against in the characters of many of the settlers themselves, whom the old world seems to have shaken off, as being too worthless and desperate to be any longer tolerated at home. They were continually irritating him by their surly opposition, and infecting the well-disposed by their ill example; for labors and hardships are much lightened when they are shared by all. Instead of receiving aid from the council at home, they were to him a source of unmixed vexation and disappointment.

Chagrined by the failure of their visionary hopes, with a truly consistent selfishness they abandoned to unwarrantable neglect the settlers, whom they had sent into a howling wilderness, taking no pains to provide for their wants, and, by their absurd exactions, making the expeditions they sent out to them a tax and a burden. Captain Smith they honored with peculiar dislike, because he preferred the interests of the colony to their own; believing all that his enemies could say of him, giving him reproof where honor was due, and finally depriving him of his command, at the very moment, when by his extraordinary exertions, he had established the colony upon a firm basis, and could look confidently forward to its steady increase and continued prosperity.

It is hardly possible for Captain Smith's services to the colony to be exaggerated. Nothing but the force of his character could have conducted it through so many difficulties and dangers. Upon his single life its existence hung, and without him the enterprise would have been relinquished again and again, as in the case of the settlements on the coast of North Carolina, and the establishment of a permanent colony in America would have been delayed to an indefinite period, since every unsuccessful attempt would have been a fresh discouragement to such an undertaking. It is easy to be seen that he embraced the interests of the colony with the whole force of his fervid and enthusiastic character. He was its right eye and its right arm. In its service he displayed a perseverance, which no obstacles could dishearten, a courage, which bordered upon rashness, and a fertility of resources, which never left him at a loss for remedies against every disaster, and for the means of extricating himself from every difficulty and embarrassment.

It is curious to observe that he seemed not only to superintend, but to do every thing. His official dignity never encumbered him when any thing was to be done. We find him, at one time, cutting down trees with his own hands; at another, heading an exploring expedition, venturing, with a

few timid followers in an open bark, into unknown regions densely peopled with savage tribes; and at another, marching with a few soldiers to procure provisions, and sleeping on the bare ground in the depth of winter. He had the advantage of possessing an iron frame and a constitution which was proof against sickness and exposure; so that, while others were faint, drooping, and weary, he was vigorous, unexhausted, ready to grapple with danger, and contemplating every enterprise with cheerful confidence in the result.

In the government of his colony he was rigidly impartial, just, and, as might be expected from one who had so long been a soldier, strict even to severity. This was indeed one of the objections made to his administration by the council in England, and it without doubt created him many enemies in Jamestown. But the intelligent reader, will find for him a sufficient apology in the desperate character of many of the settlers, and in the absolute necessity of implicit subordination, which their situation required.

The whole power was centred in his own person, and a refusal to obey him was a refusal to obey the laws, upon which their safety and even existence depended. His severity arose from a sense of duty, and no one ever accused him of being wantonly cruel or revengeful. No man was more ready to forgive offences, aimed

at himself personally ; a striking proof of which is, that we hear of no punishments being inflicted on the dastardly wretches who attempted to assassinate him, as he was lying helpless from his wounds, during the last days of his administration.

His conduct to the Indians, though not always dictated by a spirit of Christian justice or brotherhood, will be found very honorable to him, if tried by the standard of the opinions of his day. Here, too, his apology must be found in the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. He was not the head of a powerful body, meeting and trading with the Indians on terms of equality, but of a feeble band, whom they, if they had known their own strength, might have crushed in a moment. The passion of fear is the parent of cruelty and of treachery. It was necessary (or at least it was deemed so) to overawe the Indians, to strike terror into them ; and, if the means resorted to for accomplishing these ends were not strictly justifiable, there was at least an excuse for them.

The English were also more than once threatened with famine, while their Indian neighbors were generally well supplied with provisions ; and reason and experience tell us that starving men will not be very nice in their expedients to obtain food, or coolly examine into the right and wrong of measures, when a fierce animal instinct is goad-

ing them on. Captain Smith, by his prudence and firmness, established a most harmonious feeling between the two races.

The respect of the Indians for him hardly stopped short of idolatry. His great qualities were evident to these untutored children of nature, and their reverence was the instinctive homage which was paid to innate superiority. This is alone sufficient to prove that he never treated the Indians, even as they thought, with injustice, cruelty, or caprice; had it been so, he never would have been so admired and honored by a race of men who are proverbial for never forgetting an injury.

The genuine merits of Captain Smith, as a presiding officer, can only be fairly estimated by comparing him with others. We have seen that whenever he departs from Jamestown every thing is thrown into confusion, and that, as soon as he returns, order is restored and the jarring notes of discord cease to be heard. As none but himself could bend the bow of Ulysses, so no one was capable of sustaining the office of President for a single day but Captain Smith. We have seen in what difficulties and embarrassments Captain Martin at Nansemond and Captain West at the Falls severally involved themselves; and from this specimen we may draw "ominous conjecture" of what would have been the fate of the whole colony, had either of these gentlemen been at its head.

Compare also the results of his brilliant expedition to explore the Chesapeake with Newport's pompous march into the country of the Monacans, in which his failure was as wretched as his means of success were ample. The miserable adventures of the colony, too, after he, its ruling and moving spirit, had departed, are in themselves a splendid encomium upon his energetic and successful administration.

The reader may have some curiosity to know what became of the Germans, whose treachery and misconduct we have so often been obliged to record. One of them, by name Samuel, never returned to the English from the time he first left them, but spent his days in Powhatan's service. Another, named Adam, returned, upon promise of pardon, at the time of Volday's conspiracy. During the troubles in the colony after the arrival of the last expedition, he, with another of his countrymen, named Francis, taking advantage of the general confusion, fled again to Powhatan, promising that they would do wonders for him at the arrival of Lord Delaware. But the savage monarch, with that sagacity and elevation of character which were peculiar to him, told them that the men, who were ready to betray Captain Smith to him, would certainly betray him to Lord Delaware, if they could gain any thing thereby, and immediately ordered their brains to be beaten out.

As to Volday himself, he contrived to go to England, where he imposed upon many merchants with stories of the rich mines he had discovered and of how much he could enrich them so that he was sent out with Lord Delaware ; but, his real character being discovered and his falsehoods detected, he died in misery and disgrace.

CHAPTER XIV.

Captain Smith's First Voyage to New England.

FROM the time of Captain Smith's departure from Virginia, till the year 1614, there is a chasm in his biography. So active a mind as his could not have been idle during that time, but, unfortunately, no records are preserved of what he attempted or accomplished. We have every reason to suppose that his favorite subject of settling the American continent occupied a large portion of his time and thoughts. His distinguished reputation, and his great knowledge and experience upon that head, would naturally point him out as the most proper person in England to be consulted by those who had any projects of the kind in contemplation, and as

the best qualified to take a part in them himself.

In 1614, probably by his advice and at his suggestion, an expedition was fitted out by some London merchants, in the expense of which he also shared, for the purposes of trade and discovery in New England, or, as it was then called, North Virginia. An attempt had been made to establish a colony on the coast of Maine, by the Plymouth company as early as 1607, and forty-five individuals passed the winter there. As the winter of 1607 - 8 was remarkably severe all over the world, we can easily imagine their sufferings; and shall not be surprised to learn, that they abandoned the enterprise, and returned to England in the first vessel which was sent out to them. They gave a most unfavorable account of the country, describing it as cold, barren, and rocky in the extreme. Disheartened, it would seem, by these representations, the company for some years confined their efforts to one or two voyages, the objects of which were, to catch fish and traffic with the Indians, till, as we have stated, they associated with themselves the enterprising genius of Captain Smith.

In March, 1614, he set sail from London with two ships, one commanded by himself, and the other by Captain Thomas Hunt. They arrived,

April 30th, at the island of Manhegin on the coast of Maine, where they built seven boats. The purposes, for which they were sent, were to capture whales and to search for mines of gold or copper, which were said to be there, and, if these failed, to make up a cargo of fish and furs.

Of mines they found no indications, and they found whale-fishing a "costly conclusion"; for, although they saw many, and chased them too, they succeeded in taking none. They thus lost the best part of the fishing season; but, after giving up their gigantic game, they diligently employed the months of July and August in taking and curing cod-fish, an humble, but more certain prey. While the crew were thus employed, Captain Smith, with eight men in a small boat, surveyed and examined the whole coast, from Penobscot to Cape Cod, trafficking with the Indians for furs, and twice fighting with them, and taking such observations of the prominent points, as enabled him to construct a map of the country. He then sailed for England, where he arrived in August, within six months after his departure.

He left Captain Hunt behind him, with orders to dispose of his cargo of fish in Spain. Unfortunately, Hunt was a sordid and unprincipled miscreant, who resolved to make his country-

men odious to the Indians, and thus prevent the establishment of a permanent colony, which would diminish the large gains he and a few others derived by monopolizing a lucrative traffic. For this purpose, having decoyed twenty-four of the natives on board his ship, he carried them off and sold them as slaves in the port of Malaga.

History, fruitful as it is in narratives of injustice, oppression, and crimes, has recorded few acts so infamous as this. He was indignantly dismissed from his office by his employers, when they heard of his guilt; but this could not undo the mischief which had been done, nor prevent its evil consequences. The outrage sunk deep into the hearts of the Indians, and, with the indiscriminating vengeance of savage natures, they visited their wrongs in after times upon innocent heads, because they belonged to that hated race with whom their early associations were so tragical.

Captain Smith, upon his return, presented his map of the country between Penobscot and Cape Cod to Prince Charles (afterwards Charles the First), with a request that he would substitute others, instead of the "barbarous names" which had been given to particular places. Smith himself gave to the country the name of New England, as he expressly states, and not Prince Charles, as is commonly supposed. With his request Prince Charles graciously complied, and made many al-

terations in the nomenclature, which were generally marked by good taste. The name which Smith had given to Cape Ann, was Cape Tragabigzanda, in honor of his Turkish mistress, whom I hope my readers have not forgotten. Those, who have occasion to pronounce the name frequently, will congratulate themselves on the change. Cape Cod, the name given by Gosnold, was altered by the Prince to Cape James, in honor of his father; but posterity has pertinaciously adhered to the old, homely title, in spite of the double claims of the new one, as being the name of a king and bestowed by a prince. With his characteristic modesty, Smith had given his own name only to a small cluster of islands, which the Prince did not alter; but, by some strange caprice, they are now called the Isles of Shoals, a change which has neither justice nor taste to recommend it.

The first port, into which Captain Smith put on his return to England, was Plymouth. There he related his adventures to some of his friends, "who," he says, "as I supposed, were interested in the dead patent of this unregarded country." The Plymouth company of adventurers to North-Virginia, by flattering hopes and large promises induced him to engage his services to them. Upon his arrival in London, overtures were made to him by his old employers, the South Virginia

company, who had probably, by experience of others, learned to form a more just estimate of his merits and abilities; but these, on account of his previous engagement, he was constrained to decline. His refusal seems to have given some offence to those whose good opinion he valued; for he takes pains to state, that it proceeded from no disinclination to them or their cause, but he considered himself in honor bound to the Plymouth company.

CHAPTER XV.

Captain Smith sails a Second Time for New England. — Is taken by a French Squadron and carried to France. — Makes his Escape. — Arrives in England. — Publishes his Description of New England.

WHEN Captain Smith left Plymouth for London, it was with the understanding that he should return to the former place at Christmas and take charge of an expedition of four ships, which the company were to furnish him. The London company made him an offer of the same nature, which, as we have stated, he was obliged to de-

cline. He endeavored to induce the two companies to fit out an expedition in common, for which there were many inducements.

The Londoners had the most capital, but the men of Plymouth were better acquainted with the art of taking and curing fish, and could more easily fit out vessels for that object ; so that it was desirable that funds should be raised in London in behalf of an expedition which should sail from Plymouth. Besides, as Captain Smith says, " it is near as much trouble, but much more danger, to sail from London to Plymouth, than from Plymouth to New England, so that half the voyage would be thus saved." This project, though recommended by reason and expediency, could never be realized on account of the absurd jealousy which the two companies entertained towards each other, and the unwillingness of either to give precedence to the other.

Early in January, 1615, Captain Smith, with two hundred pounds in his pocket, and attended by six of his friends, left London for Plymouth, expecting to find the four ships waiting for him. But his sanguine expectations were destined to be disappointed. The ill success of the expedition, which sailed the June previous from the Isle of Wight, under the command of Harley and Holson, occasioned by the flame of excitement which the outrage of Hunt had kindled in the In-

dians had chilled the zeal of the Plymouth company.* But by the indefatigable exertions of Captain Smith, and the liberal assistance of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, and others, two ships were prepared and equipped, one of two hundred tons, and the other of fifty, in which, besides seamen, there were sixteen men destined to remain as settlers.

They set sail in March; but, after they had gone about a hundred and twenty leagues, they encountered a violent storm, which separated the two vessels, dismasted Captain Smith's, and obliged him to return under a jury-mast to Plymouth. His consort, commanded by Thomas Dermer, meanwhile proceeded on her voyage, and returned with a profitable cargo in August; but the object of the enterprise, which was to effect a permanent settlement, was frustrated.

Captain Smith's vessel was probably found to be so much shattered as to render it inexpedient to repair her; for we find that he set sail a second time from Plymouth, on the 24th of June, in a small bark of sixty tons, manned by thirty men, and carrying with him the same sixteen settlers, he had taken before. But an evil destiny seemed to hang over this enterprise, and

* See Prince's *Chronological History of New England*, p. 133, ed. 1826. Belknap's *Life of Gorges*, in his *American Biography*, Vol. I. p. 358.

to make the voyage a succession of disasters and disappointments. Soon after his departure he was chased by an English pirate, to whom his crew importuned him to surrender without resistance; which however he disdained to do, though he had only four guns and the pirate thirty-six. The apprehensions of all parties were soon agreeably and singularly dispersed; for Captain Smith, on speaking with her, found that her commander and some of his crew had been fellow-soldiers with him (probably in his Turkish campaigns), and had recently run away with the ship from Tunis.

They were in want of provisions and in a mutinous state, and offered to Captain Smith, either to put themselves under his command, or to carry him wherever he desired; but these offers were declined. Near Fayal, he met with two French pirates, one of two hundred tons and the other of thirty. His crew were again panic-stricken, and would have surrendered without firing a gun; but Captain Smith, whose impetuous valor made him disregard the greatest odds against him, told them that he would rather blow up the ship, than yield while he had any powder left. After a running fight he contrived to make his escape.

Near Flores, he was chased and overtaken by four French men-of-war, who had orders from their sovereign to make war upon the Spaniards

and Portuguese and to seize pirates of all nations. At the command of the admiral, Captain Smith went on board his ship, and showed him his commission under the great seal, to prove that he was no pirate. The Frenchman (as it was his interest to prevent any settlement of English in New England, who might compete with his own countrymen at Acadia, in their profitable trade with the natives), in open defiance of the laws of nations, detained him prisoner, plundered his vessel, manned her with Frenchmen, and dispersed her crew among the several ships of the fleet. But, after a few days, they gave them back their vessel and the greater part of their provisions, and Captain Smith made preparations for continuing his voyage, though a great many of the crew were desirous of going back to Plymouth.

But before they parted from the French fleet the admiral on some pretence sent for Captain Smith to come on board his ship, which he did accordingly, alone. While he was there, the French ship, seeing a strange sail, gave chase, detaining him on board ; and during the next night the disaffected part of his own crew entered into a plot to turn their ship's head homeward, which they accordingly did, the sixteen landmen, who were going out as settlers, knowing nothing of it, till they found themselves safe at Plymouth again. The abduction of Captain Smith by the French

man was undoubtedly intentional, being caused, as Smith himself says, by the calumnies of some of his own crew, who were anxious to be rid of him and return home.

Captain Smith soon found that those who captured him were no better than pirates. The admiral's ship was separated from the rest of the fleet by a storm and followed her fortunes alone. Her cruise was very eventful and lucrative. Captain Smith had the misfortune to see more than one English ship plundered, without any means of preventing it. Whenever they fell in with one of these, they confined him in the cabin; but whenever they had engagements with Spanish ships, they insisted upon his fighting with them. Having spent the summer in this way, they carried him to Rochelle, where, notwithstanding their promises to remunerate him for all his losses by giving him a share of their prizes, they detained him a prisoner on board a vessel in the harbor.

They accused him of having burnt the French settlements at Port Royal in 1613 (which was the act of Captain Argall),* and endeavored to compel him to give them a discharge in full for all demands before the Judge of the Admiralty, threatening him with imprisonment in case he refused. While he was deliberating upon this

* See Holmes's *American Annals*, for the year 1613.

proposal, Providence held out to him the means of making his escape, without any violence to his sense of justice, or any degradation to his pride. A violent storm arose, whose "pitiless pelting" drove all the people below; and, as soon as it was dark, Captain Smith pushed off from the ship in a boat, with a half-pike for an oar, hoping to reach the shore. But he fell upon a strong current which carried him out to sea, where he was exposed to great danger, in a small, crazy boat, when the storm was so violent as to strew the coast with wrecks. Twelve hours he passed in this fearful state, expecting every moment to be swallowed up by the waves; till by the returning tide he was thrown upon a marshy island, where he was found by some fowlers, nearly drowned and totally exhausted with cold, fatigue, and hunger. By pawning his boat, he found the means of conveyance to Rochelle, where he learned that the ship which had captured him, with one of her prizes had been driven ashore, and the captain and one half the crew drowned.

On landing at Rochelle, he lodged a complaint with the Judge of the Admiralty, and supported his claims by the evidence of some of the sailors, who had escaped from the wreck of the French ship. We are not informed what was the final result of this process; but he received from the hands of the Judge a certificate of the truth of

his statement, which he presented to the English ambassador at Bordeaux. Both at this place and Rochelle he found much sympathy, and received many friendly offices; among others, he says, "the good lady Madam Chanoyes bountifully assisted me." He returned to England, we are not told at what time, but probably in the latter part of the year 1615, and, proceeding to Plymouth, took measures to punish the ringleaders of the mutiny among his crew.

While he had been detained on board the French pirate, in order, as he says, "to keep my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate," he employed himself in writing a narrative of his two voyages to New England, and an account of the country. This was published in a quarto form, in June, 1616. It contained his map of the country, and the depositions of some of the men, who were on board his ship, when he was detained and carried off by the French, inserted, as he says, "lest my own relations of those hard events might by some constructors be made doubtful, envy still seeking to scandalize my endeavors, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues." As a proof of his indefatigable zeal in the promotion of his favorite object, he spent the whole summer in journeying about in the West of England, distributing copies of this book (seven thousand in

number, according to his own account,) among all persons of any note, and endeavoring to awaken an interest in the subject of settling America. But, he says, "all availed no more than to hew rocks with oyster-shells," so desponding were the minds of men on account of the ill-success which had attended so many enterprises of that nature. He reaped, however, an abundant harvest of promises, and the Plymouth company, in token of their respect for his services, formally conferred upon him the title of *Admiral of New England*.

Captain Smith's work on New England was the first to recommend that country as a place of settlement, and to disabuse the public mind of the erroneous impressions which had arisen from the dismal accounts of the settlers, who had returned after the failure of Popham's expedition, and who had represented the whole country as a cold, rocky, and barren waste. It is evidently written in the spirit of an advocate, and not of a judge, and is tinged throughout with the sanguine temperament of its author. Still it is never visionary or wild ; it is full of good sense, accurate observation, and a sagacity that sometimes almost assumes the shape of prophecy. No one can read it without admiration of this extraordinary man, in whom the powers of action, reflection, and observation were so harmoniously blended.

CHAPTER XVI.

Visit of Pocahontas to England. — Captain Smith's Interview with her. — Death of Pocahontas.

THE order of events in the life of Captain Smith again associates him with Pocahontas. After his departure from Virginia she continued to be the firm friend of the settlers, as before. In 1610, when Ratcliffe and thirty men were cut off by Powhatan, a boy named Henry Spilman was saved by her means, and lived many years among the Potomacs. We next hear of her in 1612, when Captain Argall, who had gone on a trading voyage to the country of the Potomacs, learnt from Japazaws, their chief, that she was living in seclusion near him, having forsaken her father's dominions and protection.

We are not informed of the reasons which induced her to take this step. It has been conjectured that her well-known affection for the English had given displeasure to her father, or that her sensibility was pained at witnessing the bloody wars which he waged against them, without her having the power of alleviating their horrors. When Captain Argall heard of this, he perceived how advantageous to the settlers it

would be to obtain possession of her person, and that so valuable a prize would enable them to dictate their own terms to Powhatan. He prevailed upon Japazaws to lend him his assistance in this project, by that most irresistible bribe in an Indian's eyes, a copper kettle ; assuring him at the same time that she should not be harmed, and that they would detain her only till they had concluded a peace with her father. The next thing was to induce her to go on board Argall's ship, and the artifice by which this was brought about, is curious and characteristic of the Indian race.

Japazaws ordered his wife to affect, in the presence of Pocahontas, a great desire to visit the English ship ; which she accordingly did, and acted her part so well, that when he refused to gratify her and threatened to beat her for her importunity, she cried from apparent vexation and disappointment. Wearied at last by her excessive entreaties, he told her that he would go with her if Pocahontas would consent to accompany them, to which proposal she with unsuspecting good-nature signified her assent. They were received on board by the captain and hospitably entertained in the cabin, "Japazaws treading oft on the captain's foot, to remember he had done his part." When Pocahontas was informed that she was a prisoner, and must go to Jamestown and be detained till a peace could be concluded with

her father, she wept bitterly, and the old hypocrite Japazaws and his wife set up a most dismal cry, as if this were the first intimation they had ever had of the plot. Pocahontas, however, soon recovered her composure, either from the sweet equanimity of her character, or because she felt that her reception and treatment by the English could not be any thing but kind and friendly. The old couple were sent home, happy in the possession of their kettle and various toys.

As soon as Pocahontas arrived at Jamestown, a messenger was despatched to Powhatan informing him of the fact, and that she would be restored to him only on condition that he should give up all his English captives, swords, muskets, and the like. This was sad news to Powhatan; but the demands of the English were so exorbitant, that he returned no answer to their proposals for the space of three months. He then liberated and sent home seven of his captives, each carrying a rusty, worn-out musket, with a message, that if they would give up his daughter, he would make satisfaction for all the injuries he had done, present them with five hundred bushels of corn, and ever be their friend. It was not thought expedient to trust to his promises; and an answer was accordingly returned to him, that his daughter should be well treated, but that they should not restore her till he sent back all the arms which he

had ever, by any means, obtained from them. This displeased Powhatan so much, that they heard no more from him for a long time.

In the beginning of the year 1613, Sir Thomas Dale, taking Pocahontas with him, marched with a hundred and fifty men to Werowocomoco intending to compel Powhatan to ransom his daughter on the proposed terms. The chief himself did not appear ; but his people received the English with scornful bravadoes, telling them, that if they came to fight, they were welcome, and should be treated as Captain Ratcliffe and his party had been. These were not words to "turn away wrath," and the boats were immediately manned, and a party landed, who burned and laid waste every thing they could find, not without resistance on the part of the Indians. After this, much time was spent in fruitless negotiation, and in mutual reproaches and defiance. Two brothers of Pocahontas came to see her, and were very happy to find her well and contented. Two messengers, Mr. John Rolfe and Mr. Sparks, were also despatched from the English to Powhatan. They did not see the chief himself, but were kindly treated by Opechancanough, who promised them to use his influence with his brother to induce him to comply with their wishes. The English returned to Jamestown to attend to their agricultural labors without bringing matters to any definite result.

The troubles between Powhatan and the English were soon to be healed by the intervention of a certain blind god, who, if tales be true, has had a large share in the management of the great concerns of the world. A mutual attachment had long existed between Pocahontas and Mr John Rolfe, who is said to have been an "honest gentleman and of good behavior." He had confided his hopes and fears to Sir Thomas Dael, who gave him warm encouragement; and Pocahontas had also "told her love" to one of her brothers. Powhatan was duly informed of this, and his consent requested for their marriage, which he immediately and cheerfully gave, and sent his brother and two of his sons to be present at the ceremony and to act as his deputies.

The marriage took place in the beginning of April, 1613, and was a most auspicious event to the English. It laid the foundation of a peace with Powhatan, which lasted as long as his life, and secured the friendly alliance of the Chickahominies, a brave and powerful race, who consented to call themselves subjects of King James, to assist the colonists in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn.

In the spring of 1616, Pocahontas and her husband accompanied Sir Thomas Dale to England. She had learned to speak English during her residence in Jamestown, had been instructed in the

doctrines of Christianity, and “was become very formal and civil after the English manner.” They arrived in England on the 12th of June, 1616, where her name and merits had preceded her, and secured her the attentions and hospitalities of many persons of rank and influence. As soon as Captain Smith heard of her arrival, he addressed the following letter to Queen Anne, the wife of James the First.

“To the most high and virtuous Princess Queen Anne of Great Britain.

“Most admired Queen,

“The love I bear my God, my king, and country, hath so oft emboldened me in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honesty doth constrain me to presume thus far beyond myself, to present your majesty this short discourse. If ingratitude be a deadly poison to all honest virtues, I must be guilty of that crime, if I should omit any means to be thankful. So it is, that some ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantequas, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit, I ever saw in a savage, and his sister Pocahontas, the king’s most dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compas-

sionate, pitiful heart, of desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her; I being the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw; and thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats.

“After some six weeks fattening amongst those savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine; and not only that, but so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Jamestown, where I found about eight and thirty miserable, poor, and sick creatures, to keep possession of all those large territories of Virginia; such was the weakness of this poor commonwealth, as, had the savages not fed us, we directly had starved.

“And this relief, most gracious queen, was commonly brought us by this lady, Pocahontas. Notwithstanding all these passages when inconsistent fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us; and by her our jars have been oft appeased, and our wants still supplied. Were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not. But of this I am sure; when her father, with the

utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and with watered eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his fury ; which had he known, he had surely slain her. Jamestown, with her wild train, she as freely frequented, as her father's habitation ; and, during the time of two or three years, she next under God was still the instrument to preserve this colony from death, famine, and utter confusion, which if in those times had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our first arrival to this day.

“ Since then, this business having been turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at, it is most certain, after a long and troublesome war after my departure betwixt her father and our colony, all which time she was not heard of, about two years after she herself was taken prisoner ; being so detained near two years longer, the colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded, and at last rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an English gentleman, with whom at present she is in England ; the first Christian ever of that nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a child in marriage by an Englishman, a matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered and well understood, worthy a prince's understanding.

“ Thus, most gracious lady, I have related to your majesty, what at your best leisure our approved histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesty’s life ; and however this might be presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot come from a more honest heart, as yet I never begged any thing of the state or any ; and it is my want of ability and her exceeding desert, your birth, means, and authority, her birth, virtue, want, and simplicity doth make me thus bold, humbly to beseech your majesty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter as myself, her husband’s estate not being able to make her fit to attend your majesty. The most and least I can do, is to tell you this, because none hath so oft tried it as myself ; and the rather being of so great a spirit, however her stature. If she should not be well received, seeing this kingdom may rightly have a kingdom by her means, her present love to us and Christianity might turn to such scorn and fury, as to divert all this good to the worst of evil ; where finding so great a queen should do her some honor more than she can imagine, for being so kind to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as endear her dearest blood to effect that, your majesty and all the king’s honest subjects most earnestly desire. And so I humbly kiss your gracious hands ”

Captain Smith gives us a few details of the residence of Pocahontas in England, and an account of his own interview with her, which the reader will probably prefer to read without any alteration. "Being about this time preparing to set sail for New England," he says, "I could not stay to do her that service I desired and she well deserved; but hearing she was at Branford [Brentford] with divers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humor, her husband with divers others, we all left her two or three hours, repenting myself to have writ she could speak English. But not long after, she began to talk, and remembered me well what courtesies she had done; saying, 'You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I do you;' which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a king's daughter, with a well-set countenance, she said, 'Were you not afraid to come into my father's country, and caused fear in him and all his people but me, and fear you here I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call me child, and so I will be for ever and ever your countryman. They did tell

us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plymouth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seek you and know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much.'

"This savage, one of Powhatan's council, being amongst them held an understanding fellow, the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and inform him well what we were and our state. Arriving at Plymouth, according to his directions, he got a long stick, whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could see, but he was quickly weary of that task.* Coming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to hear and see his behavior, he told me Powhatan did bid him to find me out to show him our God, the king, queen, and prince, I so much had told them of. Concerning God, I told him the best I could; the king, I heard he had seen, and the rest he should see when he would. He denied ever to have seen the king, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had. Then he replied very sadly, 'You

* When he returned to Virginia, it is stated, that Powhatan asked him how many people there were in England, and that he replied, "Count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sand upon the sea-shore, such is the number of people in England." — *Stith*, p. 144

gave Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as himself, but your king gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog.'

"The small time I staid in London divers courtiers and others, my acquaintances, have gone with me to see her, that generally concluded they did think God had a great hand in her conversion, and they have seen many English ladies worse favored, proportioned, and behaved; and, as since I have heard, it pleased both the king's and queen's majesties honorably to esteem her, accompanied with that honorable lady, the Lady Delaware, and that honorable lord, her husband, and divers other persons of good qualities, both publicly at the masks and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtless she would have deserved, had she lived to arrive in Virginia."

Pocahontas, or the Lady Rebecca, as she was now called,* was destined never to leave the country, which had become her own by adoption, nor to gladden again the eyes of her aged father, whose race of life was almost

* Perhaps it is not generally known that her true and original name was Matoax or Matoaka, which the Indians carefully concealed from the English under the assumed one of Pocahontas, having a superstitious notion, that, if they knew her real name, they would be able to do her some mischief. — *Stith*, p. 136.

run * Early in the year 1617, as she was preparing to return to Virginia, she was taken sick at Gravesend and died, being then about twenty-two years old. The firmness and resignation with which she met her death bore testimony to the sincerity of the religious principles, which she had long professed.

It is difficult to speak of the character of Pocahontas, without falling into extravagance. Though our whole knowledge of her is confined to a few brilliant and striking incidents, yet there is in them so complete a consistency, that reason, as well as imagination, permits us to construct the whole character from these occasional manifestations. She seems to have possessed every quality essential to the perfection of the female character; the most graceful modesty, the most winning sensibility, strong affections, tenderness and delicacy of feeling, dovelike gentleness, and most entire disinterestedness. These beautiful qualities were not in her nurtured and trained by the influences of refined life, but were the native and spontaneous growth of her heart and soul.

Her mind had not been formed and fed by books, or the conversation of the gifted and cultivated; the nameless graces of polished life had not surrounded her from her birth and created

* He died in the spring of 1618, probably between seventy and eighty years of age.

that tact in manner and deportment, and becoming propriety in carriage and conversation, which all well-bred people, however differing originally in refinement and delicacy of perception, seem to possess in about the same degree ; nor had the coarse forms of actual life been, to her eyes, concealed by the elegant drapery which civilization throws over them. From her earliest years she had been familiar with rude ways of living, uncouth habits, and lawless passions. Yet she seems to have been, from the first, a being distinct from and unlike her people, though in the midst of them. She reminds one of a delicate wild-flower, growing up in the cleft of a rock, where the eye can discern no soil for its roots to grasp, and sustain its slender stalk. We behold her as she came from the hands of her Maker, who seems to have created her in a spirit of rebuke to the pride of civilization, giving to an Indian girl, reared in the depths of a Virginian forest, that symmetry of feminine loveliness, which we but seldom see, with all our helps and appliances, and all that moral machinery with which we work upon the raw material of character.

But in our admiration of what is lovely and attractive in the character of Pocahontas, we must not overlook the higher moral qualities, which command respect almost to reverence

Moral courage, dignity, and independence are among her most conspicuous traits. Before we can do justice to them we must take into consideration the circumstances under which they were displayed. At the time when the English first appeared in Virginia, she was a child but twelve or thirteen years old. These formidable strangers immediately awakened in the breasts of her people the strongest passions of hatred and fear, and Captain Smith, in particular, was looked upon as a being whose powers of injuring them were irresistible and superhuman. What could have been more natural than that this young girl should have had all these feelings exaggerated by the creative imagination of childhood, that Captain Smith should have haunted her dreams, and that she should not have had the courage to look upon the man to whom her excited fancy had given an outward appearance corresponding to his frightful attributes?

But the very first act of her life, as known to us, puts her far above the notions and prejudices of her people, and stamps at once a seal of marked superiority upon her character. And from this elevation she never descends. Her motives are peculiar to herself, and take no tinge from the passions and opinions around her. She thinks and acts for herself, and does not hesitate, when thereto constrained, to leave her father, and trust

for protection to that respect, which was awakened alike by her high birth and high character among the whole Indian race. It is certainly a remarkable combination which we see in her, of gentleness and sweetness with strength of mind, decision, and firm consistency of purpose, and would be so in any female, reared under the most favorable influences.

The lot of Pocahontas may be considered a happy one, notwithstanding the pang which her affectionate nature must have felt, in being called so early to part from her husband and child. It was her good fortune to be the instrument, in the hand of Providence, for bringing about a league of peace and amity between her own nation and the English, a consummation most agreeable to her taste and feelings. The many favors, which she bestowed upon the colonists, were by them gratefully acknowledged, and obtained for her a rich harvest of attentions in England. Her name and deeds have not been suffered to pass out of the minds of men, nor are they discerned only by the glimmering light of tradition. Captain Smith seems to have repaid the vast debt of gratitude which he owed her, by the immortality which his eloquent and feeling pen has given her. Who has not heard the beautiful story of her heroism, and who, that has heard it, has not felt his heart throb quick with

generous admiration? She has become one of the darlings of history, and her name is as familiar as a household word to the numerous and powerful descendants of the "feeble folk," whom she protected and befriended.

Her own blood flows in the veins of many honorable families, who trace back with pride their descent from this daughter of a despised people. She has been a powerful, though silent advocate in behalf of the race to which she belonged. Her deeds have covered a multitude of their sins. When disgusted with numerous recitals of their cruelty and treachery, and about to pass an unfavorable judgment in our minds upon the Indian character, at the thought of Pocahontas our "rigor relents." With a softened heart we are ready to admit that there must have been fine elements in a people, from among whom such a being could spring.*

*The child of Pocahontas was left behind in England and did not accompany his father to Virginia, his tender years rendering a sea-voyage dangerous and inexpedient, without a mother's watchful care. He was left in charge of Sir Lewis Steukley, whose treacherous conduct to Sir Walter Raleigh has given him an infamous notoriety. Young Rolfe was afterwards transferred to the care of his uncle, Henry Rolfe, in London. He came to Virginia afterwards, and was a person of consequence and consideration there. He left an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Robert Bolling, by whom she

CHAPTER XVII.

Captain Smith's Examination by the Commissioners for the Reformation of Virginia. — His Death. — His Character.

CAPTAIN SMITH, in his account of his interview with Pocahontas in the early part of 1617, speaks of his being on the eve of sailing for New England. This confident expectation was probably founded on a promise of the Plymouth company to send him out, in the spring of that year, with a fleet of twenty ships. But this promise was never kept, and Captain Smith, so far as is known to us, passed the remainder of his life in England. But, though his body was there, his spirit was in America; and he was unwearied in his endeavors to encourage his countrymen to settle in that country.

had an only son, Major John Bolling, who was father to Colonel John Bolling and several daughters. These were married to Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray.

The above is taken from Stith, who adds, "that this remnant of the imperial family of Virginia, which long ran in a single person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous progeny." Her descendants are numerous in Virginia at this day. Among them, as is well known, was the late gifted and eccentric John Randolph of Roanoke, who was not a little proud of the distinction

The 27th day of March, 1622, was rendered memorable by the dreadful massacre of the English settlers at Jamestown, by the Indians under the direction and by the instigation of Opechan-canough, who had succeeded to Powhatan's power and influence over his countrymen, and who was compounded of treachery, cruelty, and dissimulation. The design had been for a long time formed and matured with deliberate skill and forethought. The English were entirely unsuspecting and defenceless, and three hundred and forty-seven of them were cruelly slain. The massacre was conducted with unsparing and indiscriminate barbarity. Six of the council were among the victims.

This disastrous event threw the whole colony into mourning and gave to its progress and prosperity a blow, from the effects of which it was long in recovering. The news created a great excitement in England, and Captain Smith, in particular, was deeply affected by this misfortune, which happened to a colony, whose recent flourishing condition he had contemplated with so much pride and satisfaction. He was desirous of going over to Virginia in person, to avenge the outrage. He made proposals to the company, that if they would allow him one hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, with necessary provisions and equipments, he would range the country and keep the savages under subjection and in check.

Upon this proposal there was a division of opinion in the council, some being warmly in favor of it, while others were too avaricious and short-sighted to lay out present money for future and contingent good. The only answer which Captain Smith could obtain from them was, that their capital was too much exhausted to undertake so expensive a plan, that they thought it was the duty of the planters themselves to provide for their own defence, and that they would give him permission to go on such an enterprise, provided he would be content with one half of the pillage for his share. This pitiful offer was rejected with the contempt which it deserved. Captain Smith says he would not give twenty pounds for all the pillage, which could be obtained from the savages in twenty years.

The calamities of the colony in Virginia and the dissensions of the company in England having been represented to King James, a commission was issued on the 9th of May, 1623, under the great seal of England to certain of the Judges and other persons of distinction, seven in number, giving authority to them, or any four of them, to examine the transactions of the company from its first establishment, report to the Privy Council all grievances and abuses, and suggest any plan by which they might be remedied, and the affairs of the colony be well managed in future. Seve-

ral questions were propounded by these commissioners to Captain Smith, which, together with his answers, he has himself preserved. These answers are marked by his usual good sense, sagacity, and perfect knowledge of the subject. He ascribes the misfortunes of the colony to the rapid succession of governors, to the numerous and costly offices with which they were burdened, and to the fact that their affairs in England were managed by an association far too numerous to be efficient, the majority of whom were bent upon nothing but their own gain.

As is well known, King James, in 1624, dissolved the Virginia company, arrogated to himself their powers, and issued a special commission, appointing a governor and twelve counsellors, to whom the whole government of the colony was intrusted, and making no provision for a house of representatives. His death taking place soon after, King Charles immediately upon his accession to the throne, published a proclamation, in which he signified his entire assent to the changes introduced into the administration of the colony by his father, and his determination to make its government depend entirely upon himself. He declared, that the whole administration should be vested in a council, nominated and directed by himself, and responsible to him alone.

The death of Captain Smith occurred in 1631 at London, in the fifty-second year of his age. We know nothing of the circumstances which attended it, and we are equally ignorant of his domestic and personal history; with whom he was related and connected, where he resided, what was the amount of his fortune, what were his habits, tastes, personal appearance, manners, and conversation, and, in general, of those personal details which modest men commonly do not record about themselves.

From the fact that he expended so much money in behalf of the great objects of his life, and particularly in the publication and distribution of his pamphlets, we may infer that he was independent in his circumstances, if not wealthy. For his labors and sacrifices he never received any pecuniary recompense. In a statement addressed to his Majesty's commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, and written probably about 1624, he says, that he has spent five years and more than five hundred pounds, in the service of Virginia and New England; yet, he adds, "in neither of those two countries, have I one foot o land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor ever any content or satisfaction at all, and though I see ordinarily those two countries shared before me by them that neither have them, nor know them but by my descriptions."

A very superficial acquaintance with the events of Captain Smith's life will be sufficient to convince any one that he was a man cast in an uncommon mould, and formed alike for the planning and conducting of great enterprises. He had that happy combination of qualities, which gave symmetry to his character, and enabled him to assume the most important duties and responsibilities. His constitutional courage was tempered with coolness and self-command. The warmth and enthusiasm of his temperament never perverted the soundness of his judgment. His zeal was not a transient flame, quenched by the first experience of difficulty and danger, but a deep-seated, indestructible principle, which gained strength from opposition and vigor from defeat.

The perseverance with which he prosecuted his enterprises equalled the ardor with which he undertook them. His energy was so great and overflowing, that he could not be confined to any one sphere of duty. We see him at the same time performing the offices of a provident governor, a valiant soldier, and an industrious laborer, capable alike of commanding and executing. He dreaded nothing so much as repose, inactivity, and ease. He seemed to court the dangers, toils, and sufferings, which other men shrink from, or encounter only from a sense of duty. His resources increase in proportion to the extent of the demand

made upon them. As the storm darkens around him his spirit grows more bright and serene, and that, which appals and disheartens others, only animates him. It was his good fortune to have a vigorous mind seconded by an equally vigorous body. He had a "soul of fire" enclosed in a "frame of adamant," and was thus enabled to endure and accomplish whatever his adventurous spirit impelled him to.

If we were called upon to say what was his ruling and characteristic trait, we should reply, enthusiasm, using that word in its highest and best sense, as the quality which leads a man to devote himself to some great and good object with courage, constancy, and self-abandonment, and to exert in its advancement and behalf all the energies of his nature, undaunted by natural obstacles, unruffled by opposition, and uninfluenced by the insinuations of the malicious, the open violence of enemies, and the lukewarmness of selfish friends. For the first thirty years of his life, we see him without any predominant object of interest or pursuit, obeying the impulses of a fiery valor and a restless spirit of enterprise, "seeking the bubble reputation" in desperate skirmishes in an obscure corner of Europe, eagerly embracing every opportunity of exposing himself to danger and of winning glory, prodigal of life and covetous of honor. Yet in all the scene of his checkered

career, he is animated by those high and romantic motives, which must extort admiration from even those, who look upon war as a crime and military renown as a worthless bawble. There is nothing selfish or mercenary in his conduct ; he does not belong to the Dugald Dalgetty school of heartless and ruffianly adventurers, making a trade of blood and anxious only for pay and "provant." He was a generous and highminded soldier, who fought for the battle and not for the spoils, and who gave to the cause he espoused, not only his sword, but his entire soul and heart.

But, fortunately for himself and for the world, in his early manhood he was induced to devote himself to the settlement of America, an object attractive enough to keep his imagination perpetually kindled, and vast enough to task all his powers, the prosecution of which unfolded in him high qualities of mind and character, that the iron routine of the camp could never have called forth, and which secured him a peaceful glory, far more durable and valuable than the laurels of a hundred victories. Henceforward this great interest absorbed and monopolized him. It supplied the place of friends, kindred, and domestic ties. He embraced it and labored for it with a disinterestedness and a sense of duty, worthy both of himself and of the cause. He never made it the means of securing pecuniary gain or

worldly advancement, being content to point out to others the way to wealth, while he remained poor himself. He never coveted official dignity; and, when he obtained it, he made it no excuse for indolence or self-indulgence, and did not regard it as of so delicate a texture as to render a dignified and lofty seclusion necessary to preserve it unimpaired. He was never actuated by the motives or spirit of a hireling.

We have seen him in Virginia struggling against a host of difficulties, contending, not only with those natural obstacles which he might reasonably have expected, but with mutiny, treachery, and disaffection in the colony and base injustice and persecution at home; yet never abandoning his post in disgust and despair, but, for the sake of the settlement, doing every thing and suffering every thing. And what was his conduct on his return? He showed no peevish resentment and betrayed none of the irritation of disappointment. He never magnified his own wrongs nor the ill-treatment of the company. He did not write pamphlets to beg of the public the consolation of their sympathy, and to pour into the general ear the tale of his great merits and great neglect. His conduct was magnanimous, dignified, and noble. Strong in the confidence of innocence, he made no appeal and attempted no justification. He continued, as before, the active and zealous friend

of the colony at Jamestown, and of all similar projects.

He frequently volunteered his own personal services, and twice sailed to the coast of New England. By the writing and distribution of pamphlets, and by personal exertions, he diffused information among all classes upon the subject of America ; enforcing eloquently its advantages as a place either for trade or for permanent settlement, and appealing, in its behalf, to avarice, ambition, enterprise, and that noble spirit of benevolent self-sacrifice, which dwelt in bosoms kindred to his own. Never was a scheme for obtaining wealth or personal aggrandizement pursued by any individual with more fervor and singleness of purpose, and never was one crowned with more splendid success, though he himself “died before the sight.”

Captain Smith must have been something more than mortal, had he possessed so many brilliant and substantial good qualities without any tincture of alloy. The frankness of his character reveals to us his faults no less than his virtues. He was evidently a man of an impatient and irritable temperament, expecting to find, in every department of life, the prompt and unhesitating character of military obedience. He had keen sensibility and lively feelings, and was apt to regard as studied neglect or intentional hos-

tility, what was in fact only lukewarm indifference. His conviction of the importance of discipline and subordination made him sometimes imperious and tyrannical. The energy and decision of his character led him sometimes to adopt questionable means to secure a desired result. His high spirit and independence made him perhaps unnecessarily rough and haughty in his communications to his superiors in station and authority.

Nothing is more difficult, than, in our intercourse with those above us in rank, influence, or consideration, to hit that exact medium of deportment, which is demanded alike by self-respect and by respect to others, and which is equally removed from slavish fawning and from the unbending stiffness generated by undue notions of self-importance. We have Captain Smith's own authority that he had a great many enemies. These were undoubtedly made by his haughty bearing, his uncompromising freedom of speech, the warmth of his temper, and the impatience of his blood. His resentments were lively, his antipathies strong, and prudence had never dictated to him to refrain from the expression of them.

There is one circumstance which may serve to palliate some of these weaknesses in Captain Smith. His birth was nothing more than respectable in an age when the greatest importance

was attached to nobility. It is easy to perceive that this peculiarity in his fortunes may have produced in him a soreness of feeling and jealousy of temper; may have made him suspicious and fearful, lest he should not receive from others the respect and consideration, which he knew were due to his personal merit. This inequality between one's lot and one's merits and wishes is a severe trial of character, and, in men of high spirit, is apt to beget a morbid sensitiveness and pride, a surly independence of manner, and a painful uneasiness lest their dignity should be ruffled by too familiar contact. To this source is undoubtedly to be ascribed much of that tartness of expression which we find frequently in his writings, and of that haughtiness which we have every reason to suppose was characteristic of his deportment.

Those who have read this biography will, I think, be ready to allow, that the debt of gratitude which we of this country owe to Captain Smith can hardly be exaggerated. With the exception of Sir Walter Raleigh (and perhaps Richard Hakluyt) no one did so much towards colonizing and settling the coast of North America. The State of Virginia is under peculiar obligations to him as its virtual founder; since, without his remarkable personal qualities and indefatigable exertions, the colony at Jamestown could never have

taken root. In reading the history of his administration, we are made to feel in regard to him, as we do in regard to Washington, when we contemplate the events of the American Revolution; that he was a being specially appointed by divine Providence to accomplish the work intrusted to him. He was exactly fitted for the place which he filled, and not one of his many remarkable gifts could have been spared without serious detriment.

His claims upon the gratitude of the people of New England are hardly inferior. He was the first to perceive the advantages held out by it as a place of settlement, in spite of its bitter skies and iron bound coast, and to correct the erroneous, unfavorable impressions prevalent concerning it. Though he himself had no direct share in the settlement of Plymouth, yet without doubt it was owing to the interest which had been awakened by his writings and personal exertions, that the ranks of the colonists were so soon swelled by those accessions of men of character and substance, which gave them encouragement and insured them prosperity and success. It was the peculiar good fortune of Captain Smith to stand in so interesting a relation to the two oldest States in the Union, and through them to the northern and southern sections of the country. The debt of gratitude due him is national and

American, and so should his glory be. Wherever upon this continent the English language is spoken, his deeds should be recounted, and his memory hallowed. His services should not only be not forgotten, but should be "freshly remembered." His name should not only be honored by the silent canvass, and the cold marble, but his praises should dwell living upon the lips of men, and should be handed down by fathers to their children. Poetry has imagined nothing more stirring and romantic than his life and adventures, and History, upon her ample page, has recorded few more honorable and spotless names.

THE END